

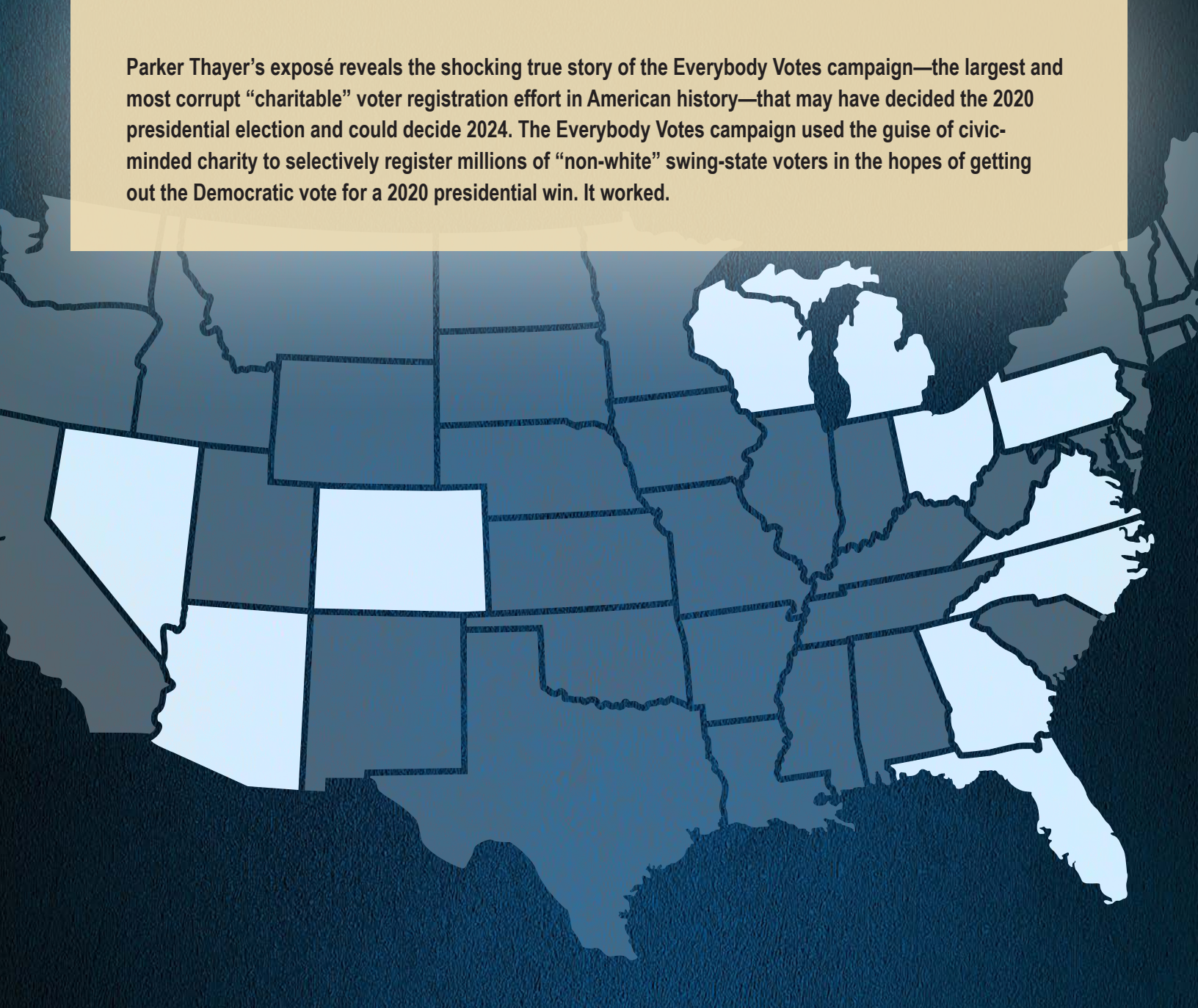
HAMAS'S AMERICAN ALLIES

PAGE 15

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

- 3** Paying for Hate on College Campuses
- 5** The Left of the Left: The Democratic Socialists of America
- 23** The Era of Labor Reform and Unionism's Height
- 31** The Trusted News Initiative: Media Collaboration to Protect Preferred Narratives

Parker Thayer's exposé reveals the shocking true story of the Everybody Votes campaign—the largest and most corrupt “charitable” voter registration effort in American history—that may have decided the 2020 presidential election and could decide 2024. The Everybody Votes campaign used the guise of civic-minded charity to selectively register millions of “non-white” swing-state voters in the hopes of getting out the Democratic vote for a 2020 presidential win. It worked.



HOW CHARITIES SECRETLY HELP WIN ELECTIONS

BY PARKER THAYER

Read the report at
<https://capitalresearch.org/article/report-how-charities-secretly-help-win-elections/>

CONTENTS



COMMENTARY

Paying for Hate on College Campuses

By Sarah Lee

Capital Research is a monthly publication of the Capital Research Center (CRC), a non-partisan education and research organization, classified by the IRS as a 501(c)(3) public charity.

CRC is an independent, tax-exempt institution governed by an independent board of trustees. We rely on private financial support from the general public—individuals, foundations, and corporations—for our income. We accept no government funds and perform no contract work.

CRC was established in 1984 to promote a better understanding of charity and philanthropy. We support the principles of individual liberty, a free market economy, and limited constitutional government—the cornerstones of American society, which make possible wise and generous philanthropic giving.

CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER

1513 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036
202.483.6900

CapitalResearch.org

Contact@CapitalResearch.org

Internship inquiries are welcome.

Publisher, Scott Walter
Editor-in-Chief, Kristen Eastlick
Editor, Jon Rodeback
Photo Editor, Gayle Yiotis



5 SPECIAL REPORT

The Left of the Left: The Democratic Socialists of America

By Robert Stilson



15 SPECIAL REPORT

Hamas's American Allies

By Ryan Mauro



23 LABOR WATCH

The Era of Labor Reform and Unionism's Height

By Michael Watson



31 DECEPTION & MISDIRECTION

The Trusted News Initiative: Media Collaboration to Protect Preferred Narratives

By Fred Lucas

A Great New Way to Expose the Left

*Support Capital
Research Center
with an IRA
Charitable Transfer*

You've helped Capital Research Center achieve so much, supporting investigations and reporting that exposes the ugly truth about the Left. We're grateful for all you've done for us.

Now, there's a new way you can support Capital Research Center, while also benefiting yourself. It's through **making a tax-free transfer directly to us from your Individual Retirement Account.**

You can transfer up to \$100,000 to 501 (c)(3) organizations like ours in this way... *tax-free!*

Here are the benefits to you:

- Your IRA Charitable Transfer is excluded from gross income on your federal income tax Form 1040. This can help keep you in a lower tax bracket.
- Your transfer also counts towards your required IRA minimum distribution.
- And your Charitable Transfer is not taxed.

Here are the requirements to give:

- You must be 72 years or older at the time of the gift to qualify.
- You must make your IRA Charitable Transfer directly to Capital Research Center from your traditional IRA account.
- Your IRA Charitable Transfer must be outright to Capital Research Center rather than to a donor-advised fund or charitable gift fund.



**INVEST
START**

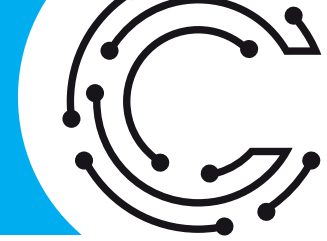
Interested in giving in this way? Do you have any questions? If so, we'd love to hear from you.

Please contact Dan Thompson in our office at Dan@CapitalResearch.org or 202-464-2043 to talk through the process further. *Thank you* for your commitment to exposing the Left, and your interest in giving in this way.

Checks can be mailed to Capital Research Center, 1513 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Capital Research Center's federal tax ID number is 52-1289734.

Please note: You'll want to check with your financial advisor before making any such gift. This information is not intended as tax or legal advice.



PAYING FOR HATE ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

By Sarah Lee

If anything could shake a Western champagne socialist to the bone, surely it would be the image of a young hippie woman, fresh from a music festival, with her legs broken behind her back and a bleeding head wound, paraded by armed Hamas militants through the streets of Israel in the back of a truck.

Or perhaps news of massacres on Israel's kibbutzim, where reporters on the ground choke back throat lumps while relaying IDF soldiers' discoveries of babies beheaded and whole families slaughtered.

Or maybe pictures of elderly women lying dead at a bus stop. Or a video of a courageous dog shot in front of its home before Iran-backed terrorists upload themselves to social media raiding the refrigerator.

These things should arrest the senses enough to at least give activists in the land of the free pause before shouting their support for the people who could commit such atrocities.

But the modern American academic institution exists outside the laws of civilized mankind, apparently, because schools such as Harvard, Columbia, the University of Virginia, and UC Berkeley, among others, could only look on weakly as campus student groups very nearly *celebrated* the tragedy of this weekend's slaughter in Israel. The rest of the civilized world is left wondering—again—what kind of environment exists in the hallowed halls of American higher learning if cruel glee in the face of unspeakable horror is so near the surface. And, more to the point, why are we paying for it?

What of the other students attending these schools, who pay good money for a good education, who find themselves rubbing elbows with hate? How does a Jewish student at Harvard, who may have extended family in Israel, proudly wear the alma mater's sweatshirt when 30+ other student groups with whom they share a campus sign a letter saying Israel was, essentially, asking for it.



Credit: Spivoniu Inc. License: Shutterstock

Was Harvard, which took in \$625 million in federal funding in FY2021, and a little over \$500 million in donations and \$500 million in cash gifts to their endowment in FY2022, initially neutral? More pointedly, should they have been?

“The apartheid regime is the only one to blame,” the Harvard letter read.

While it's no secret academia has lurched hard to the far left, it might have been a bit of a secret to some former students. (The jury's out on whether it should have been.)

“The silence from Harvard's leadership, so far, coupled with a vocal and widely reported student groups' statement blaming Israel solely, has allowed Harvard to appear at best neutral toward acts of terror against the Jewish state of Israel,” Lawrence Summers, a former Harvard president and longtime Washington economic policy hand, wrote on X.

Sarah Lee is director of communications and external affairs at CRC.



Should students—who pay a mandatory student activity fee of \$200/year at Harvard that helps fund the existence of student groups—be asked to support speech they disagree with?

Was Harvard, which took in \$625 million in federal funding in FY2021, and a little over \$500 million in donations and \$500 million in cash gifts to their endowment in FY2022, initially neutral? More pointedly, should they have been? They released an official statement condemning the attacks on Tuesday—several days later and on the same day other Harvard students made their own voices heard with a letter of their own.

Free speech on college campuses is sacrosanct. But should students—who pay a mandatory student activity fee of \$200/year at Harvard that helps fund the existence of student groups—be asked to support speech they disagree with? What about donors?

The first amendment organization FIRE (Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression) has an exceptional guidebook on the legality of using these fees to fund student groups, and what students can do to exercise their personal speech rights when they feel morally compelled to disassociate themselves.

And there's a similar—although not exactly the same—problem in the nonprofit world, when a charity doesn't protect the original donor's intent. Capital Research Center president Scott Walter explains it succinctly:

“When (John D.) Rockefeller, a religious conservative, relinquished control of his trust in 1916, he left power in the hands of unscrupulous advisers—nearly all of whom were left of center. They quickly removed any limits to what the money could be spent on, while his son, John D. Rockefeller Jr., made little effort to ensure the family stayed in control of its fortune. By the time the oil tycoon died in 1937, the

foundation he built to help promote education, upward mobility, and public health was in the hands of the very radicals he deplored.”

Academic institutions have a responsibility to their donors and their students. Balancing a protection of donor intent with free speech is a tricky situation and no one should envy the position in which these institutions find themselves.

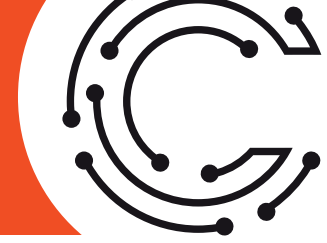
But we can as a society check them when they miss the mark using our money. Many of these campuses seem to have spent years fostering a kind of hard-core, hard-edged radicalism over open-minded, intellectual rigor that many Americans wholeheartedly reject.

There's early evidence that the tragedy in Israel could have created a paradigm shift on American college campuses, causing some leadership to acknowledge things may have gone too far in one direction. If it has, it will move at a glacial pace.

Until we know for sure, Americans are going to have to come to terms with the fact that some of our most valued institutions—the charitable and academic sectors, specifically—may not be using our money to protect our values. And we're going to have to get a lot smarter about how we spend. ■

This article originally appeared in Townhall on October 11, 2023.

Read previous articles from the Commentary series online at <https://capitalresearch.org/category/commentary/>.



THE LEFT OF THE LEFT: THE DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA

By Robert Stilson

Summary: *The Democratic Party of 2023 is not exactly a bastion of moderatism, and it has taken a pronounced leftward shift since the mid-2010s. On the Democratic Party's left flank, the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) has become a notable power bloc, becoming the current face of far-left politics in the United States. How both the Democrats and the DSA respond to the DSA's rapid ascendancy will significantly impact the ideological and rhetorical framework of American politics in the coming years.*

The Democratic Party of 2023 is not exactly a bastion of moderatism. A pronounced leftward shift within the party has been evident since at least the mid-2010s, and no group is more closely associated with its furthest-left reaches than the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). Thrust into the mainstream by the unexpectedly strong electoral performances of prominent politicians such as self-described democratic socialist Bernie Sanders and DSA member Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, the group is presently the face of far-left politics in the United States.

One side effect of the DSA's association with multiple high-profile elected officials has been to obscure the reality that it is a deeply radical group, with positions that are far to the left of even the Democratic Party's political base—to say nothing of the American electorate writ large. In truth, the DSA is best understood as a revolutionary movement that seeks nothing less than to overturn the very foundations of American society. Its economic proposals would eliminate American business activity as we know it. It demands the total dismantling of functional law enforcement nationwide. Its hatred of Israel is so vitriolic that at times it has crossed into the realm of moral depravity.

The past decade has seen the DSA expand from the relatively obscure political fringes to become a notable power bloc on the Democratic Party's left flank, though there has also been significant pushback against some of its more extreme positions. How both the Democrats and the DSA respond to the DSA's rapid ascendancy will continue to significantly impact the ideological and rhetorical framework



Credit: Neeta Lind. License: <https://shorturl.at/bnjKNU>.

In 1982 the New American Movement and the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee merged to form the Democratic Socialists of America, with Michael Harrington serving as chair/co-chair until his death in 1989.

within which American politics takes place. Accordingly, it is important to understand exactly what the DSA is and what it represents.

What Is the DSA?

The Democratic Socialists of America was established in 1982, but like many decades-old groups of the American Left its story predates its founding, and pinpointing precisely where it began can be difficult. But it probably makes sense to start with Michael Harrington, who was both the most prominent American socialist during the second half of the 20th century and the individual most responsible for creating the DSA.

Robert Stilson is a research specialist at CRC who runs several of CRC's specialized projects, including a series on federal grants and nonprofits.

A socialist activist since the early 1950s, Harrington was elected to the executive committee of the Socialist Party of America in 1960. He was also involved in a group called the League for Industrial Democracy, whose youth wing was in the process of reforming itself into a nascent Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In 1962, Harrington famously argued with Tom Hayden and other early SDS leaders over the Port Huron Statement—the group’s manifesto—because he believed it should have been more explicitly anti-communist. That same year, he published a study of poverty in the United States called *The Other America*, which was reportedly influential on the anti-poverty efforts of both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations.

After factional strife caused the implosion of SDS in 1969, some former members went on to found the New American Movement (NAM) in 1971, which emphasized a socialist-feminist ideology. Meanwhile, Harrington set up the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) in 1973 after the Socialist Party of America had dissolved the year before. Harrington had supported Democrat George McGovern for president in 1972 and dreamed of bringing together the constituencies of the “three Georges” (McGovern’s liberals, AFL-CIO president George Meany’s blue-collar northern unionists, and Alabama governor George Wallace’s blue-collar southern populists). In 1982 the NAM and the DSOC merged to form the Democratic Socialists of America, with Harrington serving as chair/co-chair until his death in 1989.

Harrington advocated for socialists to work within the Democratic Party, and the DSA counted U.S. Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) as one of its vice-chairs as early as 1983. Rep. Major Owens (D-NY) was also an early DSA member, and David Dinkins, the Democratic mayor of New York City from 1990 to 1993, was a member too. During the 1984 Democratic presidential primaries, DSA support was largely divided between Jesse Jackson and the eventual nominee Walter Mondale, but in 1988 the group was an early endorser of Jackson’s second campaign, which it considers “the first truly multiracial, (implicitly) social democratic one in U.S. history.”

Also like Harrington personally, the DSA viewed the Soviet Union as unacceptably authoritarian. Historian Harvey Klehr wrote in his 1988 book *Far Left of Center: The American Radical Left Today* that the DSA “vigorously and continuously denounced Marxism-Leninism and those regimes founded on its principles” and that the DSA was “committed to democratic values and democratic society.” The group advocated instead for what it called “socialism with a human face,” and many DSA members watched with



One of the most important things to understand about the DSA is that it is a political activist group, not a political party.

disappointment as the formerly communist countries of Eastern Europe gravitated toward Western-style market capitalism after the Iron Curtain began to lift in the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Although the DSA remained very much active through the 1990s and early 2000s, it struggled somewhat in the prevailing political climate of the era. Membership dropped from 10,000 in the early to mid-1990s to 6,500 in 2014. However, late in 2014 the DSA made a pivotal decision to go all in behind the looming presidential campaign of U.S. Senator Bernie Sanders (I-VT). Although Sanders was not a member of the DSA and the group viewed him as a less-than-ideal leftist, they believed him to be “sufficiently radical and inspiring” to support. When Sanders ran a second time in 2020 the DSA was again fully behind his candidacy, which they saw as a critical step toward “building a mass movement of working people that can change society.”

The unexpected success of Sanders’ presidential campaigns and his public self-identification as a democratic socialist did much to boost the national profile of the DSA, though other factors also drove the group’s rapid growth. On election day 2016 the DSA counted about 8,500 members, which ballooned to 24,000 by mid-2017—including 1,000 people who reportedly joined the day after Donald Trump was elected president. In 2018, DSA member Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez’s surprise Democratic congressional primary victory in New York reportedly prompted the largest single-day membership gain in the organization’s history. As of October 2023, the DSA’s website claimed that it had over 92,000 members, though a report from the group’s national convention in August of that year counted just under 78,000 members. Still, even this lower number would represent more than tenfold membership growth in under a decade.

One of the most important things to understand about the DSA is that it is a political activist group, not a political party. It is legally organized as a 501(c)(4) social welfare organization—the same nonprofit category as the National Rifle Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, or

the AARP. This can be confusing, particularly since the DSA has published a detailed political platform, endorses candidates for office, counts multiple high-profile elected officials among its members, and is otherwise actively involved in American politics.

The DSA is governed by a 16-member national political committee that is elected every two years. Membership dues accounted for a full 88 percent of the group's total revenue of \$6.8 million in 2021. There is also an affiliated 501(c)(3) charitable arm called the Democratic Socialists of America Fund (DSA Fund), donations to which are tax-deductible. The DSA Fund's mission is "to help spread democratic socialist ideals through educational materials and activist training." It is comparatively small, with 2021 revenues totaling only \$333,692, a significant portion of which appears to have been routed through donor-advised funds. Considering its modest budget, on a dollar-for-dollar basis the DSA punches far above its weight in national political influence.

More than 200 local chapters and organizing committees are affiliated with the national DSA, some of which also have their own IRS tax-exempt statuses. Chapters vary significantly in size: A survey found that about 50 percent had 1–100 members, 38 percent had 101–500 members, and 12 percent had over 500 members. The largest DSA chapters naturally tend to be located in major urban areas. The New York City chapter has traditionally been particularly influential, reportedly accounting for roughly 10 percent of the national organization's entire membership.

A Radical Agenda

Despite—or perhaps because of—its increasingly solidified position within the American political landscape, it is crucial to understand that the DSA is a deeply radical organization with views that are *far* outside the ideological mainstream. It may be most accurately understood as a revolutionary movement aiming to overturn the very foundations of American society.

A comprehensive political platform adopted by the DSA in 2021 defines the socialism that it seeks as "popular control of resources and production, economic planning, equitable distribution, feminism, racial equality and non-oppressive relationships." The specifics of implementing this would entail societal transformations that go far beyond the statist economic central planning that is most often associated with socialist politics. Indeed, it is telling that the platform devotes more words to the section on "International

Solidarity, Anti-Imperialism, and Anti-Militarism" than to "Economic Justice" and more to the "Abolition of White Supremacy" than to "A Powerful Labor Movement." An entire 900+ word section of the platform is dedicated to "Gender and Sexuality Justice."

To be sure, the DSA's platform contains plenty of traditional socialist language about the need for the working class to "liberate itself from its own shackles" and deliver "all of humanity from the parasitic death-drive of capitalism." This is a timeless call to Marxist agitation that could have easily been written more than a century ago. The platform demands the total "abolition of capitalism," to be replaced by a centrally planned economy complete with a variety of welfare state pillars: a government-guaranteed job for "everyone who wants one," alongside free water, energy, transportation, food, and various "other necessities." The DSA proposes "using state action to acquire private property and transform [it] into public democratically controlled housing." The state would also initiate agricultural collectivization and directly regulate food production and prices, nationalize/socialize all important industries (finance, health care, real estate, utilities, manufacturing, technology, media, etc.), and aggressively regulate those remaining business "not susceptible to nationalization or social control." Broad-spectrum economic redistribution is the order of the day.

From there, however, the DSA's platform goes off in all sorts of directions. There are specific calls for "free abortion on demand" and for prohibitions against requiring parental consent when minors try to "access gender affirming care." There is a proposal for government to disincentivize air travel and the use of personal automobiles, and a patently ridiculous demand to "decarbonize the economy" within 10 years via solar, wind, and geothermal energy. It calls for the government to pay race-based reparations at the local, state, and federal level. On the institutional front, the DSA wants to abolish the Senate and Electoral College, pack the Supreme Court, and transition to a parliamentary electoral system in which non-citizens and violent felons are given the right to vote.

Some of the DSA's proposals transcend radical leftism into the realm of self-defeating absurdity. For instance, while the group promises that public education would be fully funded in a socialist society, students wouldn't actually be required to attend school, behave themselves, or learn anything if they did. The DSA explicitly demands the repeal of all truancy laws, supports a categorical prohibition against suspending or expelling troublesome students, and wants to "minimize[e] testing at all levels of education."



Credit: Ryan Rodrick Beiler. License: Shutterstock.

The DSA platform talks of Israeli “apartheid, colonialism, and military occupation”; categorically opposes the normalization of relations between Israel and other countries; and twice endorses the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement.

Most striking of all, the DSA wants to completely deconstruct law enforcement in the United States—apparently replacing it with some ambiguous form of communal anarchism that is devoid of any meaningful consequences for criminal behavior. The DSA aims for the total abolition of police and prisons, and its platform states that all people should be released “from involuntary confinement.” It also wants to categorically eliminate misdemeanor offenses—which can include crimes such as assault and battery, driving under the influence, and animal cruelty. While felonies like murder, rape, and kidnapping would presumably remain criminalized, it is unclear how offenders would be detained or punished in a socialist society purged of its police and prisons.

Although the group’s platform is comprehensive, several official DSA working groups at the national level illustrate specific issues that are most important to the group’s membership. An Antifascist Working Group seeks “to organize with local antifascists in opposing the far right.” Its establishment was internally controversial due to the rather obvious association it would create between the DSA and Antifa. The Abolition Working Group focuses on doing away with law enforcement and the criminal justice system. The Disability Working Group wants to expand the DSA’s campaign to eliminate police and prisons to include “nursing facilities and psychiatric institutions.” The BDS and

Palestine Solidarity Working Group operated until 2023, when it was absorbed under contentious circumstances into the DSA’s broader International Committee.

Internal DSA politics are defined by a set of caucuses, which are distinct from the working groups and reveal much about the collective ideological leanings of the organization’s active membership. Some like the Socialist Majority Caucus and the North Star Caucus are considered relatively more moderate and reform-minded, while others—like the Bread & Roses Caucus, the Reform & Revolution Caucus, the Red Star Caucus, and the Communist Caucus—espouse a more hard-left line. At the DSA’s 2023 national convention, a majority of those elected to the national political committee were affiliated with this leftmost wing of the DSA, and at least five of the 16 committee members represent caucuses that are explicitly revolutionary Marxist and/or communist in their outlook.

For example, two committee members including the national secretary were elected from the Marxist Unity Group, which adheres to full-blown revolutionary communism. It seeks “nothing less than a working-class, socialist revolution” in which the “legitimacy of the U.S. Constitution” is eroded “through combative political agitation.” After the working class takes power “by any means necessary,” the Marxist Unity Group intends to establish a “revolutionary Popular Assembly” in which only political parties “that accept the laws of the new revolutionary order will be free to operate.” Eventually, global communism will supposedly herald “the true beginning of human history.”

One conspicuous feature of the DSA’s ideology—which it shares with the American Left more broadly—is its emphasis on differentiating between *kinds* of people, whether on the basis of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, national origin, or some other immutable characteristic. Not only is this one of the more ominous aspects of the DSA’s worldview—there are precious few examples from history where positive outcomes have been realized through dividing a society up along such lines—but it also undercuts what has traditionally been the core socialist message. It is difficult to understand how making largely superficial human differences so central to its political positioning will advance the DSA’s self-defined goal of having “millions of working-class people stand together” to fight their supposed capitalist oppressors.

This brings up the question of how the DSA handles situations in which two or more interests that it purports to favor come into conflict with one another. In such cases, a hierar-



The phrase “from the river to the sea” is understood to mean Palestinian control over the entirety of Israel’s borders, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea.

chy of sorts emerges that serves to distill the group’s highest priorities. For example, anti-police sentiments trump pro-labor sentiments. While the DSA asserts that the importance of organized labor to socialism “cannot be overstated” and claims to support the right of all workers (including military service members) to unionize, it specifically excludes one category of worker: law enforcement. Far from advocating for their right to unionize, the DSA’s platform demands that all police unions be decertified and expelled from labor federations.

A Twisted Worldview

Some of the clearest examples of the DSA’s hierarchy of priorities can be found through examining its foreign policy. Its platform calls for an end to “economic and financial sanctions [designed] to punish other countries,” specifically those levied against Cuba, Venezuela, and Iran. Elsewhere, it has even condemned sanctions targeting North Korea as “attacks” designed purely “to serve US imperialist interests” so that America can keep waging its “continuous war against the people of Korea.” That said, the DSA makes one singular exception to its otherwise strident opposition to international sanctions: Israel.

On few issues is the DSA more unequivocal than its hostility toward Israel, and the group’s rhetoric regarding the Jewish state can veer into the vitriolic and—in the context of terrorist attacks against civilians—morally depraved. Its platform talks of Israeli “apartheid, colonialism, and military occupation”; categorically opposes the normalization of relations between Israel and other countries; and twice endorses the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement.

The DSA first voted to support the BDS movement in 2017 and established an official BDS and Palestine Solidarity Working Group two years later with the self-described purpose of exposing “Israeli apartheid” and “Zionism’s settler-colonialist and imperialist roots,” while advocating for “a free Palestine, from the river to the sea.” According to the American Jewish Committee, the phrase “from the river to the sea” is widely understood as a call to arms among Palestinian activists (including terrorist groups such as

Hamas) “for Palestinian control over the entirety of Israel’s borders, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea,” implying “that the entire land of Israel should be freed from Jews.” The BDS Working Group has accused Israel of “ethnic cleansing” and other crimes against humanity and of pursuing “Jewish supremacy” through the “dispossession and elimination of the Palestinian people and their hyperexploitative system of apartheid.” Left-of-center groups like J Street are not spared from denunciations as “Zionist propaganda organizations.”

Even a modest deviation from the strict anti-Israel orthodoxy can carry serious repercussions for politicians who are DSA members. In 2021, U.S. Rep. Jamaal Bowman (D-NY) was nearly expelled from the DSA after he voted to help fund Israel’s Iron Dome missile defense system, visited the country, and met with its then-prime minister Naftali Bennett—whom the DSA has labeled “an unapologetic racist and war criminal.” Although the national committee ultimately decided against expulsion, it admonished Rep. Bowman for helping to “legitimize an apartheid state.”

The fallout from what became known as the “Bowman Affair” continued, however. In March 2022, persistent agitation over the decision not to expel him prompted the DSA’s national political committee to vote to dissolve the BDS Working Group, though that decision was quickly reversed after an uproar among membership. The BDS Working Group was ultimately and controversially absorbed into the DSA’s International Committee at the group’s 2023 national convention, though the implementing resolution passed with an amendment that declared Israel to be “a racist apartheid state” and committed the DSA to “Palestinian liberation and political and social equality between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea.”

A watershed moment came in October 2023. Just hours after hordes of Hamas terrorists from Gaza infiltrated Israel and began indiscriminately murdering and kidnapping civilians (including women and children) in one of the worst attacks the country had ever experienced, the DSA put out a statement disapproving of the slaughter but also declaring its “steadfast ... solidarity with Palestine” and placing blame for Hamas’s horrific brutality squarely on “Israel’s apartheid

regime.” The DSA’s International Committee exclaimed “long live the resistance!” and urged DSA members to participate in Palestine solidarity demonstrations. While terrorists were still operating within Israeli territory, the DSA’s New York City chapter promoted a rally in Times Square “in solidarity with the Palestinian people and their right to resist 75 years of occupation and apartheid.” Massive public backlash caused the chapter to belatedly half-apologize for the “confusion” it had caused and “for not making our values explicit,” but it also doubled down on its criticism of Israel’s “apartheid” and “genocidal rhetoric” while making no specific mention of Hamas or terrorism. The national DSA was similarly defiant.

Inveterate hostility toward Israel—up to and including equivocation on terrorism—is a conspicuous feature of a broader subset of left-wing activism that emphasizes opposition to the international influence of the United States as a core component of its worldview. The “Anti-American Left” portrays virtually every action of the United States and its allies as harmful or deleterious to the well-being of the rest of the world, while simultaneously expressing varying levels of apologism or outright support for some of the most authoritarian and repressive regimes on the planet. From its self-described position at “the heart of a global capitalist empire that has wrought untold suffering on billions of people and the environment,” the DSA is one of the most notable groups on the Anti-American Left. Its platform speaks of supposed “atrocities that make up the legacy of US actions in service of capital” and highlights Cuba, Venezuela, and Iran for bravely “resisting US imperialism and exercising self-determination over their resources.”

The DSA’s attitude toward these three countries—whose people suffer under some of the most repressive governments on the planet—is illuminating. The group has declared its full solidarity with “an independent, socialist Cuba” and blames the United States, not the country’s own communist government, for being “the primary detriment to quality of life for Cubans, and the primary force of instability on the island.” The DSA even appeared to support the Cuban government’s crackdown on large anti-regime protests in the summer of 2021. That same year it dispatched an admiring delegation to meet with Venezuelan dictator Nicolas Maduro, whose government has been accused of committing widespread crimes against humanity. Much as with Cuba, the DSA blames Venezuela’s profound socioeconomic problems on foreign “interference” from the United States, not on its own authoritarian socialist government.

In a similar vein, the DSA accuses the United States of having “held Iran in its sights since it broke free of despotic rule under the U.S.-backed Shah,” referring to the 1979

revolution in which the country’s autocratic monarch was replaced by an equally autocratic Supreme Leader. After the United States killed Iranian general Qasem Soleimani—the infamous Quds Force commander and U.S.-designated terrorist who has been blamed for the deaths of hundreds of American and allied military personnel—in a targeted 2020 drone strike, the DSA condemned it as an “act of war against Iran” and an example of American “imperialism and militarism.” It was silent regarding Iranian militarism when the country’s Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps shot down a civilian airliner just days later, killing scores of innocent people.

Silence is one approach the DSA takes in situations where an American adversary does something that is essentially indefensible, but another approach is to simply blame the United States anyway. When Russia invaded Ukraine in early 2022, the DSA released an official statement that duly condemned the invasion but blamed American and NATO “imperialist expansionism” for provoking it. Just prior to the invasion, it was attributing rising tensions in the region to “US brinkmanship” and “a sensationalist Western media blitz.” Faced with the reality of Russian aggression, the DSA has nevertheless continued to denounce both Western military aid to Ukraine and sanctions against Russia—the practical equivalent of advocating for a total Russian victory. All of this would appear to conflict with the DSA’s self-identification as an anti-imperialist organization, until one remembers that all mentions of “imperialism” in the DSA’s platform refer explicitly and exclusively to the United States.

Much of the DSA’s attitude toward Ukraine is also rooted in its deep loathing of NATO. It calls for the United States to immediately and unilaterally withdraw from the alliance, which it claims is not actually a defensive pact, but “a violent military structure” that exists “at the expense of member states’ sovereignty.” One certainly wonders how the DSA would characterize the “sovereignty” of Poland, Romania, Hungary, or the Baltic States during the Cold War or how it would explain recent alliance polling showing that public support for NATO membership hovers between 73 and 89 percent in those countries. Despite decades of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the DSA insists that NATO is merely an instrument of “US-led Western imperialist domination, fueling expansionism, militarization, and devastating interventions.”

On the whole, the DSA’s foreign policy can be reduced to a combination of blatant misrepresentations and a deeply twisted worldview. At the same time, it is not entirely difficult to understand. The DSA needs to scapegoat the capitalist United States in order to explain the tragedy of socialism in places like Cuba and Venezuela. It cannot



On the whole, the DSA's foreign policy can be reduced to a combination of blatant misrepresentations and a deeply twisted worldview.

portray American adversaries as militarily aggressive because that would countenance the need for American military power, which it sees as inextricably linked to the supposed evils of global capitalism. Israel's close relations with the United States might explain some of why the DSA targets the Jewish state for such unique vilification, but the singular viciousness of the group's rhetoric even in the context of horrific terrorist attacks on Israeli civilians makes it hard not to wonder if a certain measure of abject antisemitism may indeed be the true rot at the DSA's core.

The Democratic Party

The DSA thus inhabits a political space that is well to the left of the mainline Democratic Party, even as the latter has lurched considerably in that direction over the past decade—a process has been driven to some degree by the DSA itself. This tees up what is probably the core strategic question confronting the socialists: Just how closely should they align themselves with the Democrats? There is substantial internal debate on this issue, with some arguing that the



Credit: Chad Davis. License: <https://shorturl.at/taB25>.

Rep. Ilhan Omar (D-MN), Rep. Ayanna Pressley (D-MA), Rep. Rashida Tlaib (D-MI), and Rep. Cori Bush (D-MO)—four members of “the Squad”—speak at the Mississippi River in Minneapolis. Tlaib and Bush have been endorsed by the national Democratic Socialists of America.

DSA can be most effective through leveraging its power as a dedicated far-left bloc within the Democratic Party. Others argue that socialists should closely guard their identity as an independent political force and that any permanent alliance with the Democrats would be a mistake.

On the one hand, the DSA has seen unprecedented electoral success over the past several years, often (though not always) by running on the Democratic ticket. A report from the group's 2023 national convention claimed that 207 DSA members held national, state, or local elected office, including 52 who had been endorsed by the national DSA. At the federal level, the DSA at one point had six members in Congress: Rashida Tlaib (D-MI), Cori Bush (D-MO), Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY), Shri Thanedar (D-MI), Greg Casar (D-TX), and Jamaal Bowman (D-NY). Rep. Bowman reportedly allowed his membership to lapse in 2022, while Rep. Thanedar renounced his membership in the wake of the DSA's response to the October 2023 Hamas terrorist attacks on Israel. Others, most notably Sen. Bernie Sanders (I-VT), self-identify as democratic socialists but are not actually DSA members. These politicians have personally accounted for an outsized share of the DSA's increased national profile.

On the other hand, the DSA fundamentally considers the Democratic Party to be centrist and capitalist. After enthusiastically backing Sanders in the 2016 and 2020 presidential primaries, it declined to endorse either Hillary Clinton or Joe Biden in the general election. The DSA has said the latter's differences from Sanders “could not be starker.” Of course, not all within the DSA agreed with the decision to go “Bernie or Bust,” and some argued at the time that members should work for a Biden victory, if for no other reason than to defeat Donald Trump. Put simply, the DSA is broadly united in its antipathy for the Democratic Party but divided over what to do about it.

Some DSA chapters that have tested the Democratic Party waters have found them wholly inhospitable. In 2021, DSA-backed candidates won all five leadership positions in the Nevada Democratic Party, giving the socialists effective control of the state party. Fearing this outcome, the party establishment preemptively transferred \$450,000 in state party funds to the national Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, and within days of the DSA-backed takeover the entire Nevada Democratic Party staff resigned. Multisided



Credit: a.kato. License: Shutterstock.

Perhaps nowhere is the DSA's electoral conundrum more evident than in the candidacy of longtime DSA member Cornel West, who is running as an independent for president in 2024.

infighting and intraparty politicking reportedly ensued to such a degree that the Las Vegas DSA chapter declined to endorse anyone in the 2023 state party elections, writing that “this is our lesson, and we hope socialists everywhere will pay close attention: the Democratic Party is a dead end.”

Perhaps nowhere is the DSA's electoral conundrum more evident than in the candidacy of longtime DSA member Cornel West, who is running as an independent for president in 2024. West was elected to the DSA's national executive committee way back at its 1985 convention, where he reportedly spoke of the need for the organization to adopt an “anti-racist” and “anti-imperialist” strategy. More recently, he has even served as one of the DSA's honorary chairs. Ideologically, he would seem to be a shoe-in for the DSA's support, but that has not yet materialized. Whether or not the DSA ultimately endorses West will say much about the relative importance of political purity versus political pragmatism within the organization.

An amended resolution adopted at the DSA's 2023 national convention illustrates the group's attempt at finding something of a middle ground. By a wide majority, delegates approved language affirming that the “DSA wants to be independent of the Democratic and Republican Parties and present at third alternative... This is the key to defeating the far right and beating the neoliberal Democratic Party.” At

the same time, it also said that it was “not advisable for us to form an independent political party with its own ballot line at this moment.” The resolution affirmed that while the DSA will continue “tactically contesting partisan elections on the Democratic ballot line,” it will simultaneously strive to be “organizationally, strategically, and visibly independent of the Democratic Party.”

The relationship between the DSA and the Democratic Party is of course a two-way street, and the latter has also been forced to reckon with the former's ascendancy on its left flank—and with socialism more broadly. There are genuine divisions within the party, though public opinion polling has suggested substantial support for socialism among its electoral base. Potentially upwards of two-thirds of Democratic-leaning adults view the ideology positively. When the Green New Deal—probably the most high-profile piece of DSA-supported legislation in recent memory—came before the Senate in 2019, just four Democratic-caucusing Senators broke ranks and joined Republicans in voting it down: Joe Manchin (D-WV), Kyrsten Sinema (D-AZ), Doug Jones (D-AL), and Angus King (D-ME). All other Democrats voted “present.”

While an admittedly imperfect proxy for understanding precisely where the Democratic Party falls on the issue of socialism, a resolution passed by the House of Representatives in 2023 provides some clues. That resolution explicitly denounced socialism “in all its forms” and opposed “the implementation of socialist policies in the United States of America.” In that vote, 109 Democrats joined all Republicans in supporting the resolution, but 86 Democrats voted against it and 14 voted “present.” Thus, while most Democrats at the federal level are willing to flatly reject socialism on the record, a remarkably large minority are not. Of course, abstract openness to socialism does not automatically translate into support for the DSA or its specific platform.

Most recently, the DSA's hatred of Israel is what has prompted the strongest pushback from the Democratic Party. After the group's New York City chapter promoted an “All Out for Palestine” demonstration while the October 2023 Hamas terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians were still ongoing, the New York State Democratic Party released a statement denouncing the DSA for supporting “a rally that sought to justify the wholly unjustifiable acts of wanton violence, terrorism, kidnapping and murder that was perpetrated on the people of Israel this weekend.” Rep. Ritchie Torres (D-NY) was unequivocal in his condemnation, calling the DSA's New York City chapter “an antisemitic stain on the soul of America's largest city” and



Most recently, the DSA's hatred of Israel is what has prompted the strongest pushback from the Democratic Party.

observing that “there is a special place in hell for those who glorify the cold-blooded murder of civilians and children.” He later called the group “despicable, detestable, disgraceful, and disgraced.” Rep. Shri Thanedar (D-MI) renounced his DSA membership, saying that he could “no longer associate with an organization unwilling to call out terrorism in all its forms.” Some commentators even began to speculate that the DSA was finished as a political force in New York City after the episode.

Final Thoughts

Despite its recent ascendancy on the American political stage, the DSA remains (or in some ways, has become) a deeply radical organization that touches the very ideological extremities of the Left. It certainly seems fair to wonder—as some have—whether Michael Harrington, who was *far* from a political moderate, would even recognize himself in today's DSA.

Indeed, considering its affinity for authoritarian regimes and equivocation on terrorist violence, the influence of revolutionary Marxist/communist tendencies in its internal

politics, its relative emphasis on noneconomic issues such as police abolition, and its steadfast hostility toward the United States and its global allies, the name “Democratic Socialists of America” may have itself become something of a Holy Roman Empire–style misnomer, in that the group is neither particularly democratic, nor socialist, nor American. At least in the sense that those terms would be commonly understood by folks.

Democrats, just like Republicans, will always need to deal with a certain percentage of fringe political figures within their ranks. But the crucial difference is that there is no organized independent political force on the radical right that even comes close to matching the DSA's level of penetration into and influence over the Democratic Party. Establishment Democrats might not like the DSA—and the feeling is certainly mutual—but if the socialist influence within the party continues to be treated as a *fait accompli*, look for an emboldened DSA to keep pulling the country's political conversations toward increasingly frightful places. ■

Read previous articles from the Special Reports series online at CapitalResearch.org/category/special-report/.

A profile view of George Soros, an elderly man with white hair, looking thoughtfully to the right. His hand is resting on his chin. Overlaid on the lower half of the image is a glowing, digital globe of the Earth, with a network of blue and orange lines connecting various points across the continents. The background is dark with faint, repeating patterns of a US dollar bill.

Read the special report at
capitalresearch.org/publication

MAPPING SOROS'S
“PHILANTHROPY”
AT HOME AND ABROAD



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK



HAMAS'S AMERICAN ALLIES

By Ryan Mauro

Summary: *The reaction in America to Hamas's barbaric terrorist attacks in Israel exposes a sobering reality: Unlike al-Qaeda and ISIS, Hamas—a wing of the Muslim Brotherhood—has substantial popularity in the United States and a large network of diverse organizations that openly or implicitly supports it. These organizations include, among others, the Council on American Islamic Relations, the Islamic Society of North America, and the North American Islamic Trust. All three deny having any connection to the Muslim Brotherhood or Hamas. In public, they typically take the tack of condemning terrorism generally, saying nothing about Hamas, and justifying liberation movements in Palestine.*

The reaction in America to Hamas's barbaric terrorist attacks in Israel exposes a sobering reality in our country: Unlike al-Qaeda and ISIS, Hamas has substantial popularity and a large network of diverse organizations that openly or implicitly supports it.

Hamas first established a network in the U.S. through its Islamist parent organization in Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood. Article 2 of Hamas's 1988 covenant states that Hamas "is one of the wings of Moslem Brotherhood in Palestine. Moslem Brotherhood Movement is a universal organization which constitutes the largest Islamic movement in modern times."

Hamas revised the charter in 2017 to make it more palatable to the masses. It removed the reference to the Muslim Brotherhood, as well as some of the most explicitly anti-Semitic content. However, Hamas has never issued any disaffiliation or renunciation of the 1988 charter's content. Hamas remains a section of the Brotherhood, though it gets support from Islamist and non-Islamist extremists outside of the Brotherhood.

The U.S. Muslim Brotherhood Network

The Muslim Brotherhood secretly set up its U.S.-based wing in the early 1960s, operating under names like "the Cultural Society" and hiding their Brotherhood membership, even



The Muslim Brotherhood secretly set up its U.S.-based wing in the early 1960s, operating under names like "the Cultural Society" and hiding their Brotherhood membership, even from fellow Muslims.

from fellow Muslims. In 1963, Brotherhood supporters established the Muslim Students Association, as well as other major Muslim American organizations.

Immediately after the Brotherhood created Hamas in December 1987, it set up a subunit called the Palestine Committee to oversee its pro-Hamas fronts in the U.S.

In 1991, a member of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood's Executive Council and Shura Council wrote a revealing strategy memo that was never meant to be seen by outside eyes. It stated that the Brotherhood's "work in America is a kind of grand jihad in eliminating and destroying the Western civilization from within." It ended with a list of "our organizations and the organizations of our friends" that the author hoped would "all march according to one plan."

Ryan Mauro is an investigative researcher at CRC.



CAIR officials have a history of legitimizing Hamas's acts of terrorism and engaging in anti-Semitism.

Some Brotherhood apologists have tried to dismiss the significance of the memo, but its credibility cannot be reasonably disputed. It is substantiated by various other internal Brotherhood documents. The author, Mohamed Akram Adlouni, was and remains a senior Brotherhood operative involved in financing Hamas.

In 1993, 20 of the top Hamas/Brotherhood leaders met in Philadelphia to discuss their strategy to promote the Hamas agenda. The FBI wiretapped the meeting. The transcripts show that the participants agreed to use deception to hide their Hamas links and to use language palpable to the American public.

One of the conclusions from the meeting was that they needed a new “neutral” organization to act as one of their public faces. Months later, the meeting participants formed the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR).

CAIR Executive Director Nihad Awad publicly identified himself as a Hamas supporter in 1994. CAIR's response to that fact is that Awad expressed support for Hamas before it began suicide bombings in 1994 and before the U.S. desig-

nated Hamas as a foreign terrorist organization in 1995. The group says Awad no longer supports Hamas and that CAIR has “consistently denounced violence by Hamas.”

However, in an Arabic interview with Al-Jazeera in 2004, Awad struck a different tone. He was asked whether he supports Hamas. He said, “We do not and will not condemn any liberation movement inside Palestine or Lebanon,” clearly referring to Hamas and Hezbollah.

In addition, CAIR officials and chapter leaders have a history of legitimizing Hamas's acts of terrorism, framing Hamas as a resistance group, calling for the elimination of the state of Israel, and engaging in anti-Semitism. Based on these facts and CAIR officials' recorded discussions about deploying deception, the sincerity of the organization's rare condemnations of Hamas's violence should be in question.

Another part of the Brotherhood-founded network is knowable from the prosecution of the Holy Land Foundation, a Brotherhood front that financed Hamas. The Justice Department released a list of unindicted co-conspirators and identified three major Muslim American organizations as “entities who are and/or were members of the U.S. Muslim Brotherhood”: CAIR, the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), and the North American Islamic Trust. All three deny having any connection to the Brotherhood or Hamas.

Another Brotherhood-founded organization is the Muslim American Society (MAS). A 2004 expose detailed the Brotherhood's formation of MAS in 1993. MAS memos explained how to dodge questions about their Brotherhood affiliations. The memos advised condemning terrorism in general with the understanding that the violent jihads they support do not meet the definition of terrorism.

The reporters interviewed a senior Brotherhood official in Egypt who admitted, “I don't want to say that MAS is an Ikhwan [Brotherhood] entity. This causes some security inconveniences for them in a post-September 11 world.”

Federal prosecutors confirmed MAS' Brotherhood origins in a filing in a terrorism-related case in 2008. They wrote that MAS was “founded as the overt arm of the Muslim Brotherhood in the United States.”



Credit: DCStock/Photography License: Shutterstock

One of the conclusions from the Philadelphia meeting of the top Hamas/Brotherhood leaders was that they needed a new “neutral” organization to act as one of their public faces. Months later, the meeting participants formed the Council on American Islamic Relations.

MAS denies any affiliation with the Brotherhood. However, in its denial, it speaks highly of the Brotherhood and seems to concede that Brotherhood members were involved in its founding.

Notably, MAS's statement about the current Israeli-Hamas fighting only expresses concern for Palestinian casualties. There is no mention, much less a denunciation, of Hamas.

MAS points readers to a statement by another pro-Brotherhood group, American Muslims for Palestine (AMP). AMP has been described as “arguably the most important sponsor and organizer for Students for Justice in Palestine.”

Like MAS, AMP omits mention of Hamas and fails to condemn its attacks.

In a different AMP statement, the group frames Hamas's terrorism as legitimate acts of resistance against oppression: “First of all, this was not an attack, it was a response. Expecting a besieged, occupied, brutalized, and colonized people to remain docile in the face of nearly a century of brutal oppression and colonial subjugation is inhumane and unjust.” It further states, “the onus rests with the Israel apartheid regime to end the brutal siege on Gaza, or else the Palestinians will find themselves compelled to end it themselves as we've seen in the past 48 hours.”

In another statement, AMP referred to the acts of terrorism as only “the acts of Palestinian armed groups.”

Numerous AMP officials have directly expressed support for Hamas and the Brotherhood. According to congressional testimony, there is a “significant overlap between AMP and people who worked for or on behalf of organizations that were designated, dissolved, or held civilly liable by federal authorities for supporting Hamas.”

The International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT) is another Brotherhood-founded organization. It has been the subject of federal investigation due to its ties to Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad.

IIIT and the Fiqh Council of North America, an affiliate of ISNA, endorse an authoritative manual on Sharia Law named *Reliance of the Traveler*. The book instructs Muslims that if they can't tell the truth, they can “employ words to give a misleading impression” and, if that is insufficient, it is “obligatory to lie if the goal is obligatory.” Examples of justified lying include deceiving an “oppressor” of Muslims.

Sam Westrop, director of Islamist Watch, tells Capital Research Center that Hamas's network of Islamist allies in

the U.S. is much broader than just the organizations established by Brotherhood supporters:

Nonprofit tax return data, as just one example, shows hundreds of millions of dollars raised every year by Muslim Brotherhood, Jammāt-e-Islami and other Islamist movements for Islamist aid charities working in Gaza with Hamas authorities and their charitable fronts.

Other American Islamist Endorsers of Hamas

The U.S. Council of Muslim Organizations (USCMO), the biggest Muslim American coalition in existence, implicitly justified the Hamas attacks in its press release. It continued the pattern of omitting any mention of Hamas to dodge the thorny issue of whether it supports the terrorist group.

The USCMO called the Israeli strikes on Gaza “unprovoked,” as if Hamas's attacks didn't happen at all. It indirectly frames them as legitimate resistance, saying Israel's actions “oblige them [Palestinians] to be in constant self-defense.”

There is no sign of dissent from the organizations represented by USCMO. *Focus on Western Islamism* contacted its eight founding members, as well several council members, about the press release and received no response from any of them.

One of USCMO's members—and one of the largest Muslim American organizations—is the Islamic Circle of North



Hamas first established a network in the U.S. through its Islamist parent organization in Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood. Immediately after the Brotherhood created Hamas in December 1987, it set up a subunit called the Palestine Committee to oversee its pro-Hamas fronts in the U.S.

America (ICNA), an offshoot of a Southeast Asian Islamist group called Jamaat-e-Islami, described by the Investigative Project on Terrorism as an “ideological cousin” of the Muslim Brotherhood.

ICNA, like the others, solely blamed Israel for the violence and did not mention Hamas or its terrorist attacks. Its declaration promoted the pro-Hamas AMP’s advocacy day on Capitol Hill.

ICNA denies supporting terrorism or any violent organizations. Its website condemns al-Qaeda, ISIS, and Boko Haram. Tellingly absent from that list is any terrorist organization focused on attacking Israel.

ICNA published a member’s handbook in 2010 that vividly exposed its extremism. It repeatedly quotes the founder of the Brotherhood and states that Muslims are required to support violent jihad against occupiers of Muslim land and work toward the creation of theocratic Sharia-based governments.

ICNA emphasized the use of secrecy and deception to pursue these goals. “This does not mean, however, that the Islamic Movement should reveal all its strategies, plans, and organization, because this would be foolhardy and put the movement and its members in danger. The slogan should be, ‘Work in public but organize in secret,’” it states.

After the handbook was exposed by those ICNA slanders as “Islamophobes,” ICNA’s website stated that it had updated



Credit: Terence McCormack. License: <https://shorturl.at/btlfQ>.

One of USCMO’s members—and one of the largest Muslim American organizations—is the Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), an offshoot of a Southeast Asian Islamist group called Jamaat-e-Islami, described by the Investigative Project on Terrorism as an “ideological cousin” of the Muslim Brotherhood.

its curriculum and removed the material in question. It did not, however, repudiate any of the content.

Omar Suleiman, one of the top imams in the country and president of the Texas-based Yaqeen Institute for Islamic Research, continued the pattern of omitting any mention of Hamas. He is also the resident scholar of Valley Ranch Islamic Center in Texas and works for Southern Methodist University as an adjunct professor and member of its Ethics Center Advisory Board.

In his article he indirectly legitimizes Hamas’s attacks by referring to “the current escalation of Israeli aggression and Palestinian resistance.”

The Research Director of Islam and Society at Suleiman’s Yaqeen Institute, Imam Tom Facchine, preached, “We’re with the Palestinian resistance, one hundred percent. No ifs, no ands, no buts. No equivocations, no apologies, no condemnation.”

Facchine’s influence goes beyond the Yaqeen Institute. According to his bio, he is the resident scholar of a mosque in Utica, New York, as well as the imam and chaplain of Hamilton College.

Hamas’s attacks were also explicitly endorsed by popular Muslim American author Daniel Haqiqatjou, who is also the founder of the Alasna Institute and MuslimSkeptic.com. He wrote, “The recent actions by Hamas are not acts of terrorism; they are acts of resistance.”

The Assembly of Muslim Jurists of America (AMJA) can be added to the list of Hamas supporters in the United States. Although it hasn’t issued any recent statements, it issued a fatwa in January 2009 that responded to a question about Hamas by saying, “Now is not the time to discuss the errors of Hamas or any other Palestinian groups.” It encouraged readers to read the Arabic version for a fuller explanation that it apparently did not want to be available in English.

One of its officials, however, was a bit more transparent in a video posted on C’s website. Waleed Basyouni, a member of its Fatwa and Research Committee, taught that Hamas is not a terrorist group. Basyouni’s bio states that he is also the vice president of the Al-Maghrib Institute, director of the Texas Dawah Convention, and a member of the North American Imam Federation.

The 2009 fatwa was authored by AMJA’s Secretary-General, Salah Al-Sawy. His bio states that he’s also president of the American Open University and the president of Mishkah University, both online Islamic schools.



The startling find of this research is that it was nearly impossible to find any imams, mosques or Islamic organizations that condemned Hamas's attacks in their wake.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) also documented endorsements of Hamas's attacks from the U.S. Palestinian Community Network, the Palestinian Youth Movement, Palestine Legal, the Palestinian Assembly for Liberation, and Al-Awda.

The startling find of this research is that it was nearly impossible to find *any* imams, mosques or Islamic organizations that condemned Hamas's attacks in their wake. In fact, only one imam—Rashid Jabbar from Crown Heights, New York—fully condemned Hamas and Hezbollah.

The American Islamic Forum for Democracy, a group of Muslim reformers fighting Islamism, is the only organization that clearly sided with Israel.

Among the major Muslim American organizations, only the Muslim Public Affairs Council reacted to the violence with an unequivocal statement against terrorism and violence in all forms, explicitly condemning “attacks against Israeli civilians by Hamas” and the “taking of lives by both parties.”

Based on these facts, it can only be disturbingly concluded that Hamas has a massive amount of institutional support in the Muslim American community. We do not know to what

degree this translates into popular support because there is an absence of polling of Muslim American opinion on the subject.

Far-Left Supporters of Hamas

Unlike al-Qaeda and ISIS, Hamas can count on some far-left organizations in the U.S. to help justify their attacks and do positive public relations. This reality has sparked a sharp division in the left-wing world.

Left-wing influencers including David Pakman, Cenk Uygur of The Young Turks Network, and comedian Bill Maher unequivocally condemned Hamas and spoke in favor of Israel's right to self-defense. Comedian Sarah Silverman and Rep. Shri Thanedar (D-MI) quit the Democratic Socialists of America after it sided with Hamas.

Parts of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement rallied to Hamas's side. BLM Grassroots and BLM chapters in Chicago, Phoenix, Detroit, and Indianapolis explicitly praised the terrorist attacks using imagery heroizing Hamas paragliders.

Torch Antifa's immediate reaction to Hamas's attacks was to publish a post declaring “Free Palestine!” Andy Ngo, who authored a book on Antifa and first reported on the post, describes Torch Antifa as “the largest network of formal violent Antifa chapters.”

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) celebrated Hamas's attacks in a statement:

The unprecedented and ongoing resistance by Palestinians from Gaza, that caught Israel by surprise, did not happen in a vacuum. ... Palestinians are asserting their right to self-determination and unequivocally demanding their freedom. Never underestimate the will of an oppressed and occupied people to be free.

ADC's National Executive Director, Abed Ayoub, praised porn star Mia Khalifa after she sparked controversy by openly celebrating Hamas's attacks. One of her comments was, “Can someone please tell the freedom fighters in Palestine to flip their phones and film horizontal[?]” Ayoub



Pro-Palestinian supporters march on 42nd street in New York on October 9, 2023.



Students for Justice in Palestine also cheered Hamas's attacks as a "historic win for the Palestinian resistance."

said Khalifa "has shown more courage on this than most elected officials, journalists, and fake social justice/progressive activists out there."

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) also cheered Hamas's attacks as a "historic win for the Palestinian resistance." The material it distributed also said that Israelis are "settlers" and therefore do not count as civilians.

The Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement also expressed solidarity with the "Palestinian freedom fighters" and their "justified use of armed resistance against the oppressors' military and civilians." BDS then removed the language and added a note claiming that hackers had edited their statements.

Code Pink's immediate reaction to the barbarism was to justify what Hamas did. It posted on X, "The US-backed Israeli apartheid regime inflicts daily settler violence and terror on Palestinians. Israel is an occupying force. Palestinians have every right to resist it."

Black Alliance for Peace likewise reacted to the bloodshed by saying it stands with Palestine because "a colonized people have a right to resist occupation and fight for self-determination by any means necessary." Its fiscal sponsor is the Open Collective Foundation, even though its support for Hamas appears to violate their community guidelines.

The California-based Middle East Children's Alliance said, "We are witnessing the people of Gaza rising up to respond to decades of Israelis settler colonial violence." It has received \$170,000 since 2017 from the Soros Network (also known as the Open Society Network).

The Anti-Defamation League also found that the Party for Socialism and Liberation, Workers World Party, the Center for Constitutional Rights, and a Native American group called Red Nation expressed support for Hamas.

It's worth observing that the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), ostensibly an authoritative tracker of extremism and hate, has thus far not said a word about the left-wing endorsers of Hamas. It stands in sharp contrast to how SPLC quickly pounces on any entity that is perceived as right-wing. SPLC was directly asked by the *Daily Signal* about its stance on these left-wing hate groups, and it ignored the

question. But the SPLC labor union expressed "solidarity with the Palestinian people," condemned the "occupation" of Palestine, and warned of an impending "genocide" in Gaza.

Far-Right Supporters of Hamas

Although we didn't find any registered far-right nonprofits supporting Hamas, Hamas clearly has a fanbase among the far Right.

As the ADL reports, the leader of the neo-Nazi Goyim Defense League, Jon Minadeo, was ecstatic about Hamas's rampage in his online broadcast. The leader of the neo-Nazi group Blood Tribe similarly wrote on Telegram, "Thoroughly enjoying the show in Israel over the past day."

Natsoc Florida, another neo-Nazi group, posted a photo of a printed t-shirt that says "Fuck Israel." The text accompanying the photo reads, "I've been cranking these out all day. The Israeli people deserve zero sympathy. Fuck Israel. They deserve everything that is happening to them right now. I sincerely hope that Hezbollah and the Taliban are able to make it to the fight."

The Counter Extremism Project also observed cheers from neo-Nazi social media channels with thousands of followers. One linked to the successors of the Atomwaffen Division terrorist group was inspired by Hamas's actions. It told members to think about how comparatively stronger "organized whites" could kill Jews in greater numbers.

White supremacists have sought to aid Hamas before. In September 2020, two Boogaloo Bois members—an anti-government militia-type group—were arrested for trying to provide material support to Hamas.

Conclusion

It seems unimaginable that anyone in the Western world could have a positive sentiment toward Hamas after it brutally murdered over 1,200 Israelis, but the truth we must contend with is that there is a groundswell of support for the terrorist organization.

Hamas could be dismantled in the Gaza Strip, but it would live on in the U.S. through its Islamist, far-left and far-right allies. ■

Read previous articles from the Special Reports series online at CapitalResearch.org/category/special-report/.



LIBERAL *RIGHT-OF-CENTER*
LEFT WING **CONSERVATIVE**
GREEN *FREE-MARKET*
FAR LEFT *LIBERTARIAN*
PROGRESSIVE **RIGHT-WING**
LEFT OF CENTER *RIGHT-LEANING*

Political and Policy-Oriented Giving After *Citizens United*: An Update to CRC's 2017 Analysis

CRC's update to the 2017 report found: In the 2018 election cycle, liberal grantmakers increased their public policy 501(c)(3) giving, increasing the imbalance from nearly 3.4 to 1 in 2014 to 3.7 to 1 (\$8.1 billion to \$2.2 billion) in 2018. "Dark money" funding through 501(c)(4) groups flipped from a 3.6 to 1 advantage for conservatives to a nearly 2 to 1 (\$81 million to \$42 million) advantage for liberals.



THE LEFT'S VOTING MACHINE

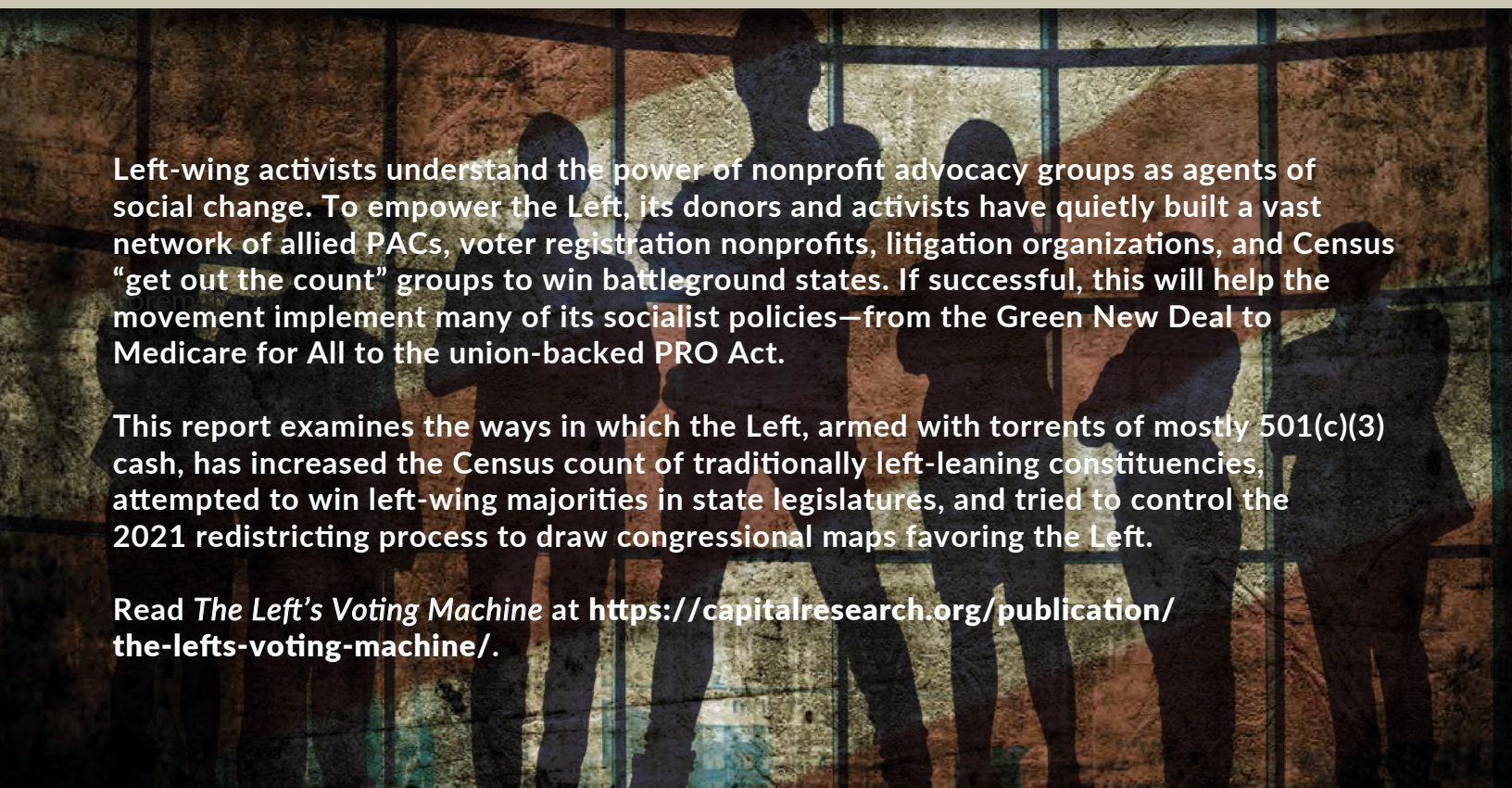


CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

Left-wing activists understand the power of nonprofit advocacy groups as agents of social change. To empower the Left, its donors and activists have quietly built a vast network of allied PACs, voter registration nonprofits, litigation organizations, and Census “get out the count” groups to win battleground states. If successful, this will help the movement implement many of its socialist policies—from the Green New Deal to Medicare for All to the union-backed PRO Act.

This report examines the ways in which the Left, armed with torrents of mostly 501(c)(3) cash, has increased the Census count of traditionally left-leaning constituencies, attempted to win left-wing majorities in state legislatures, and tried to control the 2021 redistricting process to draw congressional maps favoring the Left.

Read *The Left's Voting Machine* at <https://capitalresearch.org/publication/the-lefts-voting-machine/>.





THE ERA OF LABOR REFORM AND UNIONISM'S HEIGHT

By Michael Watson

The period of organized labor's ascendancy and consolidation after the Great Depression began to slow on November 5, 1946. In midterm elections held that day, the Republicans won their greatest congressional landslides in the post-Depression era, riding public discontent with postwar economic contractions and labor strife to a 12-seat gain in the Senate and 246 total seats in the House, breaking the Democratic trifecta for the first time since 1932. Over President Harry Truman's veto, the ensuing Congress enacted the Taft-Hartley labor reforms, which expressly permitted right-to-work laws, subjected labor union unfair labor practices to scrutiny by the National Labor Relations Board, and restricted economically destructive "secondary" strikes.

While that Republican majority would prove fleeting and Truman would win an improbable re-election in 1948, Big Labor faced increasing headwinds as the Depression era retreated and the Cold War began. Labor reached its peak in the 1950s, just in time for congressional investigations to reveal corruption schemes in unions like the Teamsters that led to another round of legislation curtailing union power and increasing government scrutiny of labor union operations.

The 80th U.S. Congress has gone down in presidential campaign materials and histories that focus on the Presidency as the "do-nothing Congress" that helped President Harry Truman get re-elected. But in fact, that Congress elected in the midterm elections in 1946 was profoundly consequential and very much active.

Its most consequential acts included the Labor Management Relations Act of 1947, better known for the names of its House and Senate sponsors, Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-OH) and Rep. Fred Hartley (R-NJ). The Taft-Hartley Act established the consensus conservative Republican approach to labor relations for the next eight decades: restoring voluntarism to union membership, subjecting union internal operations to government scrutiny, and limiting the damage done to consumers and the economy from industrial action. It earned a veto from President Truman that was overridden by the congressional "conservative coalition" of majority Republicans and southern Democrats hostile to Big Labor.



Credit: Marion Trikonko. License: <https://shorturl.at/dpN7Z>.

The Rackets Committee exposed Jimmy Hoffa as a profoundly corrupt figure, even as he ascended to the national Teamsters presidency.

While organized labor denounced the Taft-Hartley Act as a "slave-labor law" and campaigned aggressively for President Truman's re-election with an eye toward repealing it, the law survived. The 1950s would see unionism's post-Wagner Act peak in membership density but revealed the seamy underbelly of Big Labor. Congressional investigators discovered organized crime control over some of the most powerful labor unions in the country, most notably the Teamsters, and radical unions in the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) that were infiltrated and dominated by Communists.

The threats from outside drove the House of Labor briefly into union, with the American Federation of Labor and

Michael Watson is Capital Research Center's research director and managing editor for InfluenceWatch.



The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations agreed to merge in 1955, forming the modern AFL-CIO. The happy House of Labor would not last.

Congress of Industrial Organizations agreeing to merge in 1955, forming the modern AFL-CIO. The happy House of Labor would not last. Corruption epitomized by Jimmy Hoffa's rise to the union's highest office led to the Teamsters—at the time the largest labor union in the country—being kicked out of the federation shortly thereafter. Meanwhile, Congress, led by the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field under Sen. John McClellan (D-AR), conducted a wide-ranging investigation into the financial crimes of union leaders and how some, like Hoffa, had been compromised by organized crime.

By the end of the decade, the public and Congress had had enough. With the backing of President Dwight Eisenhower and despite large Democratic majorities in the House and Senate, Congress passed the Landrum-Griffin Act, which sought to combat the corruption the committee investigation had uncovered.

The Conservative Response Takes Shape: Taft-Hartley and Right-to-Work Laws

Conservatives and the Republican Party that serves as their imperfect political vehicle were mostly locked out of power from President Franklin Roosevelt's landslide election in 1932 through his death in 1945. But after the end of World War II, the New Deal Democrats now led by President Truman finally hit the threshold of political exhaustion as their organized labor allies reached for too much too quickly.

Wartime labor relations were governed by a set of pacts agreed upon between Big Business, Big Labor, and FDR's Big Government, the most important of which was a no-strike/no-lockout pledge. Most, but not all, major unions abided by the pledge: The most notable dissenters were the United Mine Workers led by John L. Lewis, who had fallen out with Roosevelt over politics.

But with V-J Day came the end of the pledge. And with the end of the pledge came an attempt by Big Labor to flex its New Deal-enhanced muscles, as it led the largest wave of strikes in American history. That effort combined

with general economic disruptions brought the first federal Republicans to power in the post-Depression era with the 80th U.S. Congress.

Since the strike wave had contributed to the Republican sweeps in the 1946 midterms, labor relations reform was at the top of the new majority's agenda. House Republicans, who were more ideologically conservative, took the lead, with Education and Labor Committee chairman Rep. Fred Hartley (R-NJ) advancing an aggressive reform proposal.

The bill passed the House of Representatives with a veto-proof majority, and then action moved to the Senate, where Senate Republican Policy Committee and Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee chairman Sen. Robert Taft (R-OH), a leader of the national GOP's conservative faction, guided more moderate legislation through his ideologically divided conference. Both houses then passed the final bill over President Truman's veto with strong bipartisan majorities. In the House of Representatives, a majority of Democrats backed the veto override; in the Senate, Democrats split nearly evenly.



Wartime labor relations were governed by a set of pacts agreed upon between Big Business, Big Labor, and President Franklin Roosevelt's Big Government, the most important of which was a no-strike/no-lockout pledge. But with V-J Day came the end of the pledge and an attempt by Big Labor to flex its New Deal-enhanced muscles, as it led the largest wave of strikes in American history.

Credit: Penn State Special Collections. License: <https://shorturl.at/ekoux>.

As its bipartisan support might indicate, the Taft-Hartley legislation was not nearly as radical as Big Labor claimed in its campaign against the supposed “Slave-Labor Law.” The legislation left the fundamental nature of the National Labor Relations Act alone. Exclusive monopoly bargaining, under which a recognized union may demand the power to negotiate on behalf of all workers in a bargaining unit, not just union members, was preserved as the national default. Employer bargaining in “good faith” with a majority-status union remained required by law. There would be no return to the era of the labor injunction and the true, union-prohibited “open shop,” even in concept. In the words of the National Right to Work Committee’s official history, passing Taft-Hartley was “like giving a baby aspirin to someone with a migraine.”

Instead of a return to the pre-National Labor Relations Act era, Taft-Hartley stipulated that the liberal regime of the New Deal era would be administered subject to conservative restrictions. Unions would have reciprocal obligations to bargain in good faith to those that the Wagner Act had placed on employers. Certain strikes over union jurisdiction and against third parties to labor disputes were banned. The president was given additional power to intervene in labor disputes in national emergencies. Communists were banned from holding union offices, though this rule would be curtailed by later Supreme Court rulings.

Perhaps the most remembered legacy of the Taft-Hartley Act was its restrictions on “closed shops,” contract provisions requiring union membership. “Closed shop” agreements requiring hiring union members exclusively were banned. States gained the explicit power to pass “right-to-work” laws prohibiting conditioning employment on the payment of any union dues or fees.

Together, Taft-Hartley’s provisions became the basis for an eight-decade consensus within the conservative movement on labor relations policy that affirmed the need to make union membership and participation voluntary, to subject union conduct to government oversight and regulation, and to protect the public from fallout from labor disputes.

Big Labor and its Democratic allies reacted viciously to the passage of Taft-Hartley. Buoyed by President Truman’s veto, the unions went all out to elect Truman and pro-union candidates in 1948, with the hope of repealing the law. While the electorate ushered in a Democratic trifecta that year, Taft-Hartley would survive with few amendments, forming the administrative frame for labor relations that continues through the present day.

The State of Big Labor, 1950

As the 20th century hit its midpoint, organized labor was both near its absolute height and driven by the issues that would start its long decline. At the forefront was unionism’s own division: The industrial-union Congress of Industrial Organizations and the craft-union American Federation of Labor remained divided, as they had been since the 1930s.

Communist domination of unions, especially in the CIO, remained a problem. Before Taft-Hartley had passed and enacted restrictions on Communists in union office (many of which would later be overturned by the Supreme Court), then-Screen Actors Guild president Ronald Reagan testified before Congress on his efforts to prevent the actors’ union and the film industry more broadly from succumbing to Communist control. The International Longshore and Warehouse Union, representing dockworkers on the West Coast, was so committed to its Communist-backed leader Harry Bridges that even though the CIO kicked it out in 1950, Bridges stayed on as union president until 1976.

But a bigger and more pressing problem than infiltration by Reds was the infiltration of organized labor by wiseguys—Mafiosi. In an unusually American problem, organized crime syndicates began operating local labor organizations in exchange for kickbacks and manipulating their way to the top of regional and national labor unions. These “labor leaders” were little more than thieves, stealing from workers, employers, and the public alike through kickback schemes, “labor peace rackets,” and cartelization of local industries. Unions focused on economic choke points like the East Coast dockworkers’ International Longshoremen’s Association and truck drivers’ International Brotherhood of Teamsters that proved ripe targets for Mafiosi at the midpoint of the century.

As these challenges faced organized labor, three powerful factions led by famous men were rising. In labor’s New Dealer–Cold Warrior center sat George Meany, the one-time plumber who rose to head the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and became a staunch ally of the Cold War-era Democratic Party. To Meany’s right sat James “Jimmy”



As the 20th century hit its midpoint, organized labor was both near its absolute height and driven by the issues that would start its long decline.



Credit: Marion Trikoeko. License: <https://shorturl.at/dpMTZ>.

But a bigger and more pressing problem than infiltration by Reds was the infiltration of organized labor by wiseguys—Mafiosi.

Riddle Hoffa, the Mafia-compromised rising star of the Detroit-area Teamsters who would shortly lead the national union. To his left sat Walter Reuther, a United Auto Workers organizer who had flirted with Marxism (even working in the Soviet Union for a brief period in the early 1930s) before rising to lead the CIO and the activist-progressive wing of midcentury labor that would reach its height in power and influence during the 1960s.

George Meany's Rise and the Creation of the AFL-CIO

George Meany rose through the ranks of organized labor in New York City. The son of a local plumbers' union president, Meany took up the plumbing trade in his youth and followed his father into union organizing, becoming a local union business agent and later secretary of a building trades council. During the Depression, he rose to the position of head of the New York State Federation of Labor, where he learned and practiced the lobbying trade to secure passage of left-of-center economic legislation.

By 1940, he had ascended to the number-two position in the American Federation of Labor, and during World War II he sat as a member of the War Labor Board tasked with regulating the economic life of the country and preventing war-industry work stoppages. After V-J Day, the strike wave, and the 1946 Republican midterm sweep, Meany led the AFL's unsuccessful campaign to defeat Taft-Hartley's pas-

sage. He also aligned the AFL's strategy to comply with the anti-Communist provisions enacted by the law.

In response to Taft-Hartley's passage, Meany spearheaded the development of Labor's League for Political Education (LLPE), the first AFL political committee and a counterpart to the CIO's political action committee (which it had created to support President Roosevelt's final campaign). The committee backed pro-union Democrats for Congress and legislative seats and President Truman's election. When they took the majority and another term in the White House, the AFL and Meany demanded the law's repeal. However, the Republican minority and its allies among union-skeptical southern Democrats defeated the repeal efforts, and the LLPE's efforts to unseat Sen. Taft in 1950 failed miserably.

Meany's disputes with the Truman administration over production and economic controls related to the Korean War and failure to reverse Taft-Hartley encouraged the AFL and CIO to narrow their rivalry. Such closeness was affirmed as the AFL and CIO old guards literally passed away: Philip Murray, head of the CIO, and Meany's boss at the AFL, William Green, both died in November 1952.

Meany succeeded Green. Negotiating the merger opposite him would be Walter Reuther, longtime organizer and leader in the United Auto Workers and Murray's successor leading the CIO. After nearly three years of negotiations, the



Credit: Albert Miller. License: <https://shorturl.at/dsLNS>.

George Meany, the son of a local plumbers' union president, followed his father into union organizing, becoming a local union business agent and later secretary of a building trades council.

modern AFL-CIO was codified in late 1955 with Meany as president.

As these negotiations were ongoing, Dwight Eisenhower had been elected president on the Republican ticket, the first presidential administration elected without the support of Big Labor since 1928. But in a sign of Big Labor's power in the early 1950s, it was not clear that President Eisenhower's administration would oppose expanding labor's power. Eisenhower appointed the Plumbers' Martin Durkin, a union official, as his Labor Secretary and proposed union-friendly changes to Taft-Hartley.

Former Senator Joseph Ball (R-MN) wrote in the Foundation for Economic Education's magazine *The Freeman* for September 1953, that Eisenhower and Durkin were "emasculating" Taft-Hartley with a set of 24 concessions to labor union interests.

Labor's Compromised Right: Dave Beck, Jimmy Hoffa, and the Teamsters

In his *Freeman* article warning about the early Eisenhower administration's desire to weaken Taft-Hartley, Ball blamed the moderate "eastern Republican group" that had helped secure Eisenhower the GOP nomination in 1952 with advising the administration's pro-union policy, writing:

Unfortunately, many leaders in that group, who now occupy influential positions in the Administration, are convinced that to survive politically the G.O.P. must "buy" the support of big union leaders by yielding to their demands. This despite the evidence of recent elections, which show that no leader can deliver the so-called "labor vote" and that Republicans have been supported by rank-and-file workers when they disregarded demands of union leaders and supported measures aimed at protecting and expanding individual worker rights.

Moderate Republicans seeking to appeal to organized labor despite the faction's nearly nine-decade-long clear loyalty to the Democrats are as old as labor's partisan divide. Depression-era liberal Republican New York Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia was a friend of unions both in Congress (in which he sponsored the Norris-LaGuardia Act that banned conditioning employment on not joining a union) and City Hall. It continues to this day, with the last two Republican federal administrations under George W. Bush and Donald Trump having vainly sought friendship with building trades unions.



Credit: Los Angeles Daily News. License: <https://shorturl.at/bwv0G>.

Led by chief investigator Robert F. Kennedy, the Rackets Committee discovered that Dave Beck was running a personal-enrichment scheme at the expense of his members with the assistance of Nathan Shefferman, a Chicago-area labor relations consultant who passed kickbacks from businesses to Beck in exchange for weaker contracts.

Modern moderates have focused on the Teamsters specifically. In part, it is because in Eisenhower's era, the Teamsters were the Republican union, and Teamsters leader Dave Beck was the "Republicans' Labor Statesman." But Beck had problems that the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field (also known as the Rackets Committee or the McClellan Committee) was uncovering as President Eisenhower was feting him at the White House.

Led by chief investigator Robert F. Kennedy, the Rackets Committee discovered that Beck was running a personal-enrichment scheme at the expense of his members with the assistance of Nathan Shefferman, a Chicago-area labor relations consultant who passed kickbacks from businesses to Beck in exchange for weaker contracts. Beck eventually went to prison, though he was later pardoned.

“Modern moderates have focused on the Teamsters specifically, in part, because in Eisenhower's era, the Teamsters were the Republican union.”

Beck's successor was, if anything, worse. James Riddle "Jimmy" Hoffa was a Teamsters organizer and business agent from the Detroit area with eyes on Beck's position and his own shot at national-level ill-gotten lucre. He also had extremely troubling allies from the Mafia. As Kennedy's investigations began in 1956, Hoffa was already engaged in corrupt activities, with his involvement in the blinding of labor journalist Victor Reisel widely suspected. Reisel was attacked before he was to testify before a federal grand jury regarding the Teamsters Union's chartering "paper locals"—ostensible local unions that existed for the principal purpose of manipulating internal union elections and conducting labor racketeering—under the control of associates of mobster John "Johnny Dio" Dioguardi.

Dioguardi was an ally of Hoffa, and in exchange for the power to conduct labor racketeering schemes using the "paper locals," Dioguardi's men would help Hoffa's allies take control of New York-area councils of the Teamsters, helping Jimmy advance to the top of the Marble Palace's greasy pole. While Hoffa was not charged for the attack on Reisel, it was widely suspected that he had foreknowledge of it or was involved in orchestrating it.

The Riesel attack would not be Hoffa's only run-in with criminal behavior. With Kennedy's committee sniffing around his finances, Hoffa tried to recruit private investigator Cye Cheasty to get a job on the committee to feed intelligence to Hoffa. But Cheasty turned double agent, alerting Kennedy to Hoffa's scheme. The FBI and Kennedy directed Cheasty to arrange payment to him from Hoffa. Hoffa was arrested after the handoff but was acquitted by a jury thanks to prosecutorial bungling and the defense team presenting Hoffa as a friend of D.C.'s Black community.

But while he beat the rap for trying to corrupt Cheasty, the Rackets Committee exposed Hoffa as a profoundly corrupt figure, even as he ascended to the national Teamsters presidency. That set the Teamsters at odds with the still-new AFL-CIO, which demanded reforms. When they did not come, George Meany led an effort that expelled the Teamsters from the federation. They would not return for decades.

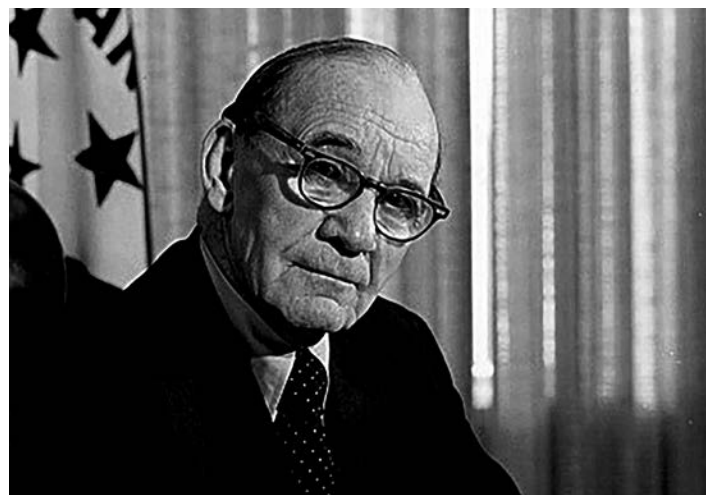
The legacy of the Teamsters' expulsion from the AFL-CIO persists in American political muscle memory, especially among that moderate faction of Republicans. In the Hoffa and immediate post-Hoffa era, the Teamsters occasionally aligned with the GOP, but this alignment tended to accompany GOP favors to senior Teamster leadership. The union backed Richard Nixon over John F. Kennedy in 1960, a likely reprisal for the Kennedy clan's involvement in the

Rackets Committee investigations of Beck and Hoffa. Nixon would later commute Hoffa's federal prison sentences, with Gerald Ford pardoning the Teamsters boss.

The last Republican to receive the Teamsters' backing was George H.W. Bush in 1988. Under his administration, the Department of Justice conducted a civil Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) case to remove the Mobbed-up Teamsters leadership. The case would ultimately be settled by a consent decree with then-U.S. Attorney Rudolph Giuliani subjecting the union to strict government oversight that would not begin phasing out until the mid-2010s. Since the consent decree was issued, the national Teamsters Union has backed Democrats exclusively, despite repeated Republican attempts to court the union's leadership.

Responding to the Rackets: The Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act

By 1959, the McClellan Committee investigations and public hearings had exposed enough misbehavior by labor union officials (most of which was in the Teamsters Union) that a bipartisan consensus had emerged that something had to be done about it. But pushing back against the power of organized labor did not come naturally to President Eisenhower, and the Democratic congressional majorities that had grown in size after the 1958 midterm elections were broadly labor-backed.



Credit: U.S. Senate. License: Public domain.

By 1959, the John McClellan Committee investigations and public hearings had exposed enough misbehavior by labor union officials (most of which was in the Teamsters Union) that a bipartisan consensus had emerged that something had to be done about it.

That said, the McClellan Committee's revelations had made doing nothing to counter labor corruption politically untenable even for liberal stalwarts like Robert Kennedy's brother, Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-MA). The AFL-CIO worked with Senator Kennedy on a mild corrective bill before the 1958 elections. It was defeated by business's desire for a stronger bill and the Teamsters and some allied unions' demand for no legislation at all. The increased Democratic majorities after the "six-year itch" elections in 1958 should have assured passage for a union-backed mild bill.

But it did not work out that way. In 1959, Kennedy's bill was amended on the Senate floor to include a "union member bill of rights" backed by law professor Clyde Summers (who had drafted a version for the American Civil Liberties Union) and proposed by Senator McClellan, who had chaired the Rackets Committee. After the amended bill passed the Senate, the AFL-CIO, like the Jimmy Hoffa's Teamsters, came out to oppose the legislation in the House.

That decision put the legislative ball in the Eisenhower administration's court. A tougher proposal was put forward by Rep. Phil Landrum, a Georgia Democrat aligned with the union-skeptical conservative coalition, and Rep. Robert Griffin, a Michigan Republican. With support from Department of Labor bureaucrat Howard Jenkins Jr., the pair devised legislation to regulate unions' activities without the pro-union changes to Taft-Hartley found in the Kennedy bill.

With President Eisenhower's backing, the Landrum-Griffin legislation was adopted in a House floor vote. After further negotiation, both Houses of Congress passed the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 along the lines proposed in the Landrum-Griffin bill.

The legislation attempted to directly respond to corrupt practices exposed by the Rackets Committee. The dubious practices of management consultants like Nathan Shefferman, the fixer for Teamsters boss Dave Beck, were addressed by placing reporting requirements on employer-hired professional operatives who interact with employees to discuss unionization and labor relations questions and by barring employers and employer agents from providing "things of value" to union officials. The Teamsters' practice of shutting down dissidents opposed to Hoffa's compromised union leadership or outright looting local unions by placing local unions in trusteeship was restricted. Other provisions established minimum standards of democracy in union officer elections and made union officers fiduciaries responsible for stewarding union funds "solely for the benefit of the organization and its members." Union spending would be subject to scrutiny by requiring labor unions

to submit financial disclosures subject to public inspection to the Department of Labor (though these requirements would be functionally toothless until the George W. Bush administration).

Because the Landrum-Griffin rather than the Kennedy proposal was ultimately enacted, the law toughened regulations on union conduct from Taft-Hartley. It banned "hot cargo" contract clauses, under which an employer agreed with a union not to handle shipments involving a business involved in a labor strike. (The Hoffa-led Teamsters had abused "hot cargo" clauses to engage in labor racketeering.) Picketing for the purposes of union organizing was restricted but not banned outright as businesses had hoped.

The final law also kept Sen. McClellan's bill of rights for union members in a modified form. Union members are guaranteed certain procedural and democratic rights related to union officer election, the setting of dues, speaking out against union leadership or policies, and due process in internal union discipline proceedings.

Toward the Great Society

In no small part because of the supporting role he played on the Rackets Committee and in developing the legislative response to it, Senator John F. Kennedy was elected president in 1960. With a labor-backed Democratic trifecta coming into power, the public desire for regulation of unions in response to the 1950s corruption exposes satisfied, and the potential for new organizing in the growing government sector, the union movement entered the 1960s on a high, looking toward sunlit uplands.

But those uplands would never come. The immediate post-World War II economy had given unions structural advantages that would erode with time. The union movement had squandered its good name by surrendering large sections of itself to Communists and mobsters. The Great Society liberalism that Big Labor would midwife would nationalize even more of labor unions' "offerings" to members and seed a conservative backlash unseen since Warren Harding's return to "normalcy" after the aggressive Progressivism of Woodrow Wilson.

Union membership peaked at roughly one-third of the workforce in the 1950s. The decade of reform that exposed organized labor's seedy underbelly would be unionism's height. The Long Decline was about to begin. ■

Read previous articles from the Labor Watch series online at CapitalResearch.org/category/labor-watch/.



BIG MONEY IN DARK SHADOWS

Arabella Advisors' Half-Billion-Dollar
"Dark Money" Network

Hayden R. Ludwig

According to media personalities and politicians, nameless, faceless donors wield outsized influence over the American political process due to the so-called "dark money" they use to fund think tanks and advocacy groups. But that's far from the whole story. "Dark money" exists on both sides of the aisle. In fact, the Left seems to have deeper and darker pockets of cash than anyone suspected.

Learn more about liberal "dark money" in CRC's original report.



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

DECEPTION & MISDIRECTION



THE TRUSTED NEWS INITIATIVE: MEDIA COLLABORATION TO PROTECT PREFERRED NARRATIVES

By Fred Lucas

Summary: *The Trusted News Initiative, a largely ignored coalition of media outlets and Big Tech, began as an initiative of the BBC to drown out the misinformation with factual journalism” ahead of the 2020 election. But instead of protecting the public from misinformation, it has spiked certain accurate news stories that didn’t comfortably fit into a preferred narrative. Members of TNI are being sued for violations of antitrust laws in its efforts to control reporting.*



Credit: BBC. License: <https://shorturl.at/HMX29>.

Whether this rises to the legal definition of antitrust activities remains to be seen. But leaders of the Trusted News Initiative sure cast it as a collaboration of entities deciding what is and isn’t news.

In July, a federal judge delivered a blow to collusion between social media companies and the government that was operating in the shadows. What remains to be seen is whether a more transparent cabal of legacy media and Big Tech will face accountability.

The Trusted News Initiative—founded by the British Broadcasting Corporation in 2019 and joined by *The Washington Post*, the Associated Press, and Reuters as well as Google, Meta (Facebook), Twitter, and other giant news and social media outlets—asserts that it provides “fast alert against the most harmful disinformation.”

Republican attorneys general from Missouri and Louisiana were the plaintiffs in the case of the social media companies colluding with the federal government. And it has typically been the Right in recent years that has sounded the alarm about the power of Big Tech. For longer than that, conservatives have been quick to criticize the liberal media.

The Trusted News Initiative is present online, held its annual conference in March in Delhi and London, and doesn’t seem to aim for secrecy. Nevertheless, strangely, it doesn’t seem to be receiving much attention, not from media watchdogs, media writers, or anyone else.

Two Liberals

It was two aging liberals who helped cast the spotlight on the most recent news cabal. Woody Harrelson expressed concern during a September 2022 interview with host Bill Maher. “I’m worried about the way media is trending. You know about the Trusted News Initiative, right?” he asked Maher, who said it sounds familiar.

“The Trusted News Initiative was begun before the last election because the whole idea was to stop subversion by foreign powers. ... Who can say it’s a bad thing? It’s stopping Russia from interfering. This is great,” Harrelson continued. “And it’s every big—it’s Twitter, it’s everyone. So, what they did was, they made sure that nothing entered mainstream media that could be heard by the masses that would affect the election. After the election, they stayed together. They didn’t just stop after the election after everything went smoothly.”

Fred Lucas is the chief news correspondent and manager of the Investigative Reporting Project for The Daily Signal, and the author of The Myth of Voter Suppression: The Left’s Assault on Clean Elections (Post Hill Press, 2022).



Credit: s. bubbley. License: Shutterstock.

It was two aging liberals who helped cast the spotlight on the most recent news cabal. Woody Harrelson expressed concern during a September 2022 interview with host Bill Maher. “I’m worried about the way media is trending. You know about the Trusted News Initiative, right?” he asked Maher, who said it sounds familiar.

“Then COVID,” Maher said.

“They focused on anything that suggested vaccine hesitancy,” Harrelson said. “They focused on anything that had to do with finding anything to do adversely with 5G. They focused on anything that went against the narrative of COVID and how it’s caused.”

Elections were key to the founding of the collaboration. The Trusted News Initiative claimed it tackled disinformation during Britain’s 2019 general elections and the 2020 Taiwan election. So the organization bound onto the scene of the 2020 U.S. election, determined to fire off rapid response warnings of fake news, *Variety* reported.

The coalition casts its job in the loftiest of terms of preserving democracy. “Disinformation is one of today’s great harms. It can undermine democracy, create division, and distort public debate. Tackling it is a pressing priority,” Tony Hall, director-general of the BBC, said. “That’s why it is so vital that TNI is successful.”

This would be done by reviewing the content, “while publishers ensure they don’t unwittingly republish dangerous falsehoods,” according to *Variety*. The TNI partners in the news and social media industry announced they will alert each other of what they deem “disinformation”

that poses an apparent threat to democracy and the integrity of the election.

“The partnership focuses on moments of potential jeopardy, that could threaten life or the integrity of democracy, particularly during elections,” the TNI website says. “Partners alert each other to high-risk disinformation so that content can be reviewed promptly by platforms, whilst publishers ensure they don’t unwittingly share dangerous falsehoods.”

The BBC started the initiative to “drown out the misinformation with factual journalism” ahead of the 2020 election season. Then along the way, the COVID-19 pandemic came. Thus, the TNI played a key role in shaping what was deemed the acceptable narrative for reporting on both. The group also established a similar shared alert system to help fight what it considered COVID-19 misinformation, reported TVB Europe.

“Harmful Disinformation”

The Trusted News Initiative insists in one of its press releases that the collaboration “does not in any way affect, the editorial stance of any partner organisation.”

The initiative describes its mission as “The leading global forum for 23 major news organisations [sic] and tech platforms to work together, at speed and in a fast-changing digital landscape, to share insights, look forward and take action against the most harmful disinformation, independent of governments.”

Now this news cabal could soon face accountability from a lawsuit led by yet another aging liberal.

Robert F. Kennedy Jr.’s group the Children’s Health Defense alleges certain TNI partners are violating federal anti-trust law by agreeing to suppress some news.

So, is RFK Jr. pro-disinformation or something?

As Harrelson says, it’s tough to oppose the stated goals of the group. The organization asserts on its website there is a “human cost” to misinformation and that “our media partners come across it daily in the stories they cover, whether it is a threat to health caused by medical falsehoods or disruption to democracy.”

However, overly broad definitions of “misinformation” and “disinformation” are increasingly a problem. The terms have demonstrably been used as a wide net to capture factual stories that didn’t conveniently fit the Left’s narrative. Whatever the legal merits of the litigation, Kennedy’s group seems determined to put much of the news media on trial.



“Misinformation” and “disinformation” have demonstrably been used as a wide net to capture factual stories that didn’t conveniently fit the Left’s narrative.

“Controversial, hot-button news reporting, such as reporting that COVID originated in a lab in Wuhan, China, or that scandalous documents potentially incriminating then-candidate Joe Biden were discovered on a computer belonging to Hunter Biden attracts enormous attention and viewership,” the complaint says. “If only one TNI Legacy News Member or Big Tech Member had suppressed such reporting, while the others did not, the suppressing Member would have lost viewership to its rivals.”

Clubbing Together

Whether this rises to the legal definition of antitrust activities remains to be seen. But leaders of the Trusted News Initiative sure cast it as a collaboration of entities deciding what is and isn’t news.

“This is a moment when we need a coalition of the willing and together with partners we can create scale and some standards and systems to fight disinformation,” BBC Director General Tim Davie said.

In March, the TNI held its annual conference in both London and Delhi to bring together “leading experts in disinformation.” The Big Media–Big Tech coalition says that “media education” consists of “sharing insights and research on how audiences and users react to disinformation, thus informing best practice and supporting better digital literacy.”



Credit: abhobbins. License: <https://shorturl.at/ouuM5>

“When social media companies collude with major mainstream news organizations to censor rival online news publishers, that violates antitrust law,” argues Jed Rubenfeld, lead attorney for the plaintiffs.

During an interview, Jamie Angus, senior news controller for BBC News, explained why he thinks collaboration is more important than competing news voices:

It’s important that trusted news providers club together. Because, actually, the real rivalry now is not between, for example, the BBC and CNN globally, it’s actually between all trusted news providers and a tidal wave of unchecked incorrect or explicitly malicious nonsense that’s being piped out mainly through digital platforms specifically to destabilize regions of the world.

While he mentions CNN, the left-leaning cable news channel hasn’t joined the TNI consortium yet. Still, plenty of other organizations are clubbing together. The Associated Press, the largest news gathering organization in the world, is a partner. Thomson Reuters, another prominent wire service, is part of the collective, as is French news wire AFP. Two of the world’s most influential newspapers—*The Washington Post* and *The Financial Times*—signed up as well.

Other members are CBC/Radio-Canada, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), Information Futures Lab, *The Hindu*, the Africa-based Nation Media Group, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Kompas of Indonesia, Pakistan news outlet Dawn, *The Indian Express*, Indian network NDTV, the Australia Broadcasting Corporation, Australia’s Special Broadcasting Services (SBS), and Japan’s NHK.

The most powerful Big Tech firms are also partners: Google/YouTube, Meta, Microsoft, and Twitter.

That’s a strong global reach, but the collaborative isn’t all powerful.

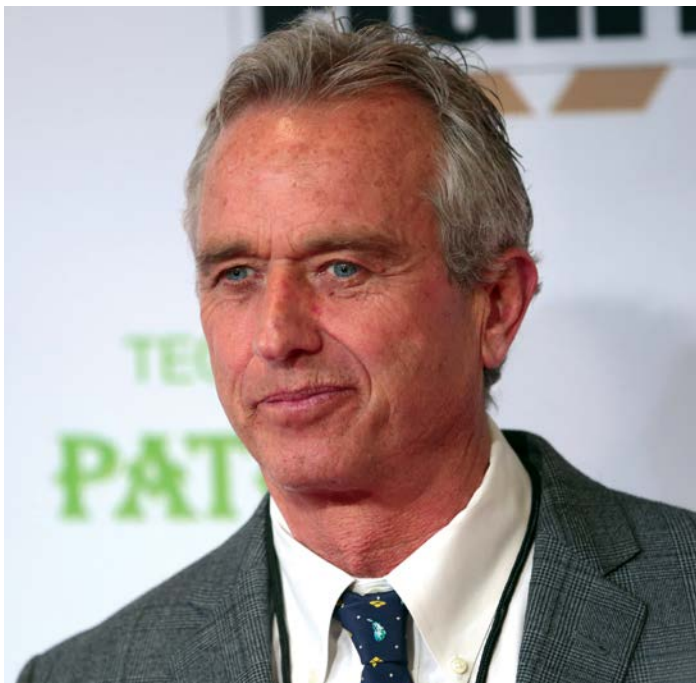
Ideology aside, some of the largest and most influential U.S. news organizations have so far declined to join. Neither CNN or MSNBC—and obviously not Fox News—are part of the coalition. *The New York Times* hasn’t enlisted, and perhaps not surprisingly neither has *The Wall Street Journal*. Although the consortium was founded by the BBC, neither of Britain’s most influential newspapers, *The Times* of London nor *The Guardian* are partners.

RFK Jr. Lawsuit

Kennedy, who is making a longshot challenge for the Democratic Party presidential nomination against President Joe Biden, is joined in the lawsuit by several right-wing or right-leaning entities and individuals such as Creative Destruction Media; Trial Site News; Ty and Charlene Bollinger, who founded the Truth About Cancer and the Truth About Vaccines; independent journalist Ben Swann; Erin Elizabeth Finn, the publisher of Health Nut News; Jim Hoft, founder of the Gateway Pundit; Dr. Joseph Mercola; Jeff Crouere, host of Louisiana-based radio and TV show *Ringside Politics*; and Ben Tapper, a chiropractor.

“People are losing faith in the legacy media and legacy media [that]—rather than reflecting on their shortcomings and making changes—instead, through TNI, doubled down to protect their own economic interests,” said Kim Mack Rosenberg, acting general counsel for Children’s Health Defense.

Children’s Health Defense did not sue the TNI, but rather named specific partners BBC, *The Washington Post*, Reuters, and the Associated Press as defendants in the lawsuit first filed in January in the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas. The complaint regularly refers to the Trusted News Initiative.



Credit: Gage Skidmore. License: <https://i.imgur.com/latcdnB6>

Robert F. Kennedy Jr.’s group the Children’s Health Defense alleges certain TNI partners are violating federal anti-trust law by agreeing to suppress some news.

The news outlets petitioned to have the case moved to the more favorable U.S. Southern District of New York. After the judge granted the motion to move the case to New York, Children’s Health Defense dropped the case on May 18.

On May 31, Kennedy’s group filed an identical case in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Louisiana before U.S. District Judge Terry A. Doughty, the same judge who imposed the temporary injunction on contact between the federal government and social media companies.

“When social media companies collude with government to censor critics of government policy, that violates the First Amendment. When they collude with major mainstream news organizations to censor rival online news publishers, that violates antitrust law,” argues Jed Rubenfeld, lead attorney for the plaintiffs.

The lawsuit quotes the 1945 Supreme Court ruling in the *Associated Press v. United States* that held the AP violated the 1890 Sherman Antitrust Act. The high court’s majority opinion said “the widest possible dissemination of information from diverse and antagonistic sources is essential to the welfare of the public.” The majority opinion continued, “Freedom to publish is guaranteed by the Constitution, but freedom to combine to keep others from publishing is not.”

The 108-page complaint by Kennedy’s group lays out a detailed argument with numerous examples of news organizations in the Trusted News Initiatives have “prohibited reporting” of topics deemed “misinformation.”

A few examples turned out to be true. Others are very debatable, but time and emerging evidence have shown these examples were not outrageous claims.

The lawsuit gives as examples of “prohibited reporting”:

- “Claims that COVID-19 was manmade.”
- “Claims that COVID-19 was manufactured or bio-engineered.”
- “Claims that COVID-19 was created by a government or country.” In March, the FBI determined that COVID-19 most likely originated from a lab leak in Wuhan. Also, scientists have since called for more inquiry into the lab leak.
- “Claims that ‘contradict’ the [World Health Organization] or U.S. health officials’ guidance on the treatment, prevention, or transmission of COVID-19.” Since this time, the public health community is widely viewed as having been unprepared for the pandemic.



“Freedom to publish is guaranteed by the Constitution, but freedom to combine to keep others from publishing is not.”

- “Claims about the COVID vaccines that contradict ‘expert consensus’ from U.S. health authorities or the WHO.” The complaint cites TNI member, *The Washington Post*’s op-ed piece about problems with expert opinion during COVID-19.
- “Claims that Hydroxychloroquine (‘HCQ’) is an effective treatment for COVID,” “Claims that Ivermectin (‘IVM’) is an effective treatment for COVID,” “claims that HCQ or IVM is safe to use as a treatment for COVID,” and “recommendations of the use of HCQ or IVM against COVID.” The lawsuit cites a 2021 legal opinion by Nebraska Attorney General Douglas Peterson that the medications have been safe for human use for years.
- “Claims that COVID is no more dangerous to some populations than the seasonal flu” and “claims that the mortality rate of COVID is for some populations the same or lower than that of the seasonal flu.” The lawsuit cites an NPR story, headlined “In Kids, the Risk of COVID-19 and the Flu Are Similar—But the Risk Perception Isn’t.”
- “Claims suggesting that the number of deaths caused by COVID is lower than official figures assert.” On this point, the lawsuit references research by the American Association of Medical Colleges to assert, “In fact, official COVID mortality figures frequently failed to distinguish between individuals who died because of COVID-19 and individuals who died with COVID-19, resulting in significant overstatements of COVID deaths.”
- “Claims that face masks or mask mandates do not prevent the spread of COVID.” The lawsuit cites a *New York Times* article questioning the effectiveness of mask mandates.
- Somewhat out of place among all the COVID-19 hits, one example says, “Claims that a laptop belonging to Hunter Biden was found at a computer repair store in or around October 2020 or that the contents reportedly found on that laptop, including potentially compromising emails, videos, and photographs, were authentic.” On this point, both the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* eventually verified the authenticity of the Hunter Biden laptop.

Legal experts contend the case has merit and shouldn’t be shunned out of hand. “Media outlets do not get a First Amendment exemption from antitrust laws,” Lyrisa Lidsky, chair of U.S. Constitutional Law at the University of Florida Levin College of Law, told Fox News.

Lidsky further noted that the newspaper publishing industry lobbied for the Newspaper Preservation Act of 1970 so that competing newspapers in the same market could merge advertising divisions while keeping competing editorial voices. These are otherwise known as joint operating agreements. This Newspaper Preservation Act was passed in response to a 1969 Supreme Court ruling in *Citizen Publishing Co. v. United States* that held two competing newspapers in Arizona couldn’t have such a joint operating agreement based on antitrust law.

The lawsuit alleges the power of the news outlets with Big Tech firms muscled out smaller publishers: “Federal antitrust law has its own name for this kind of ‘industry partnership’: It’s called a ‘group boycott’ and is a per se violation of the Sherman Act.”

The complaint elaborates:

YouTube, for example, has a market share of over 75% in the Internet video-hosting market.

Facebook has a market share of close to 100% in the online social networking market.

Google’s search engine has a market share of over 90% the online search market.

Through this market power, and through their combined roles as news aggregators and hosts of third-party news content, the TNI’s Big Tech Members possess an overwhelmingly dominant position in the online news market, allowing them to dictate which news publishers receive access to, and which are denied access to, hundreds of millions of news consumers.

Lidsky stressed plaintiffs still have a burden of proof to show that competing media outlets worked together to suppress information and suppress smaller competitors.

“One problem is that we rely on the media to be watchdogs of the government,” said Lidsky, a media law expert and former dean of the University of Missouri School of Law. “The allegation here seems to be that powerful actors in the media and the government colluded to suppress information.”



*“One problem is that we rely on the media
to be watchdogs of the government.”*

—Lyrissa Lidsky

Climate Journalism

In another example of a collaboration pushing a leftist narrative, the Trusted News Initiative tells its partners that climate change “should be at the heart of modern journalism.” The initiative argues that “this requires rethinking climate journalism from it being a ‘beat’ or ‘specialist subject’ to something that frames all our storytelling, particularly business reporting.”

Further, it says:

Climate journalism is not optional. ... Far too often publishers and broadcasters have kept global warming in the silo of science journalism, rather than at the heart of wider business and news coverage, even though it has been known for decades that the core issues are primarily economic, with powerful interests at play.

Climate journalism offers a broader window into where journalism could be going under such collaboratives as the Trusted News Initiative.

For example, the insistence on the “settled science” of climate change has been used as a battering ram from the “we’re all going to die” crowd demanding sweeping action such as the Green New Deal.

The attitude reared its head again during various public policy debates over COVID-19, when public health officials who were wrong about so many things refused to be questioned, and Dr. Anthony Fauci proclaimed, “attacks on me quite frankly are attacks on science.”

Similarly, the Trusted News Initiative could easily claim critics are attacking the truth or are in favor of misinformation and disinformation.

The organization’s mission could be noble if limited to stopping the spread of obvious disinformation, such as an AI-generated video that appears to show Hillary Clinton endorsing Ron DeSantis for president. Even here, news consumers should be expected to use some common sense, with a willingness to question the likelihood of such an occurrence.

But it’s quite another matter when media blind spots are combined with groupthink in what seems to have led to the spiking of certain accurate news stories that didn’t comfortably fit into a preferred narrative.

Liberal media bias has always been a problem, but the attitude taken by the Trusted News Initiative goes beyond bias. Rather, it’s that only one political narrative can possibly be accurate and all others are therefore misinformation or disinformation.

Further, constantly conflating the two isn’t a good thing either. Misinformation is false information spread with or without the intention to mislead, according to the American Psychological Association. Disinformation is more nefarious and refers to false information spread for the deliberate purpose of misleading—often for political or financial reasons. Disinformation is often associated with propaganda by a government agency—such as military or intelligence—for subversion.

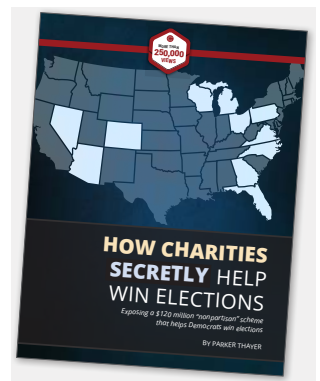
Just as science is supposed to be determined by honest inquiry and experimenting, in journalism, the truth should be obtained through honest investigation and inquiry. That’s better achieved when news outlets are fiercely competing to get to the bottom of a story rather than collaborating on a shared version. ■

Read previous articles from the Deception and Misdirection series online at CapitalResearch.org/category/deception-and-misdirection/.

THE GROWING IMPACT OF CRC'S SPECIAL REPORT ON

HOW CHARITIES SECRETLY HELP WIN ELECTIONS

Released on August 15, 2023, Parker Thayer's exposé on a \$120 million "nonpartisan" voter registration scheme that helps Democrats win elections immediately reached policymakers, reporters, and other influencers. Since released, the report has been viewed on CRC's website more than 250,000 times.



- » We first provided this research ahead of time to **the House of Representatives Ways and Means Subcommittee on Oversight**, and on August 14, the committee launched an investigation, asking the public for input on charities that were conducting partisan work and **citing CRC's research throughout its request**.
- » News outlets like the **Wall Street Journal**, Daily Caller, the **New York Post**, the Federalist, **Newsweek**, RealClearPolitics, and the **Epoch Times**, local TV stations like DC's **WJLA** and **Fox's Baltimore** affiliate, and others carried the story. Thayer was also interviewed by **Jesse Kelly** and **Charlie Kirk** for their radio shows, **Dan Bongino** mentioned it on his program, and he was interviewed on **The Story with Martha MaCallum** on **Fox News**.



- » Policymakers like **Rep. Claudia Tenney** and former **Ambassador Richard Grenell** shared the report on social media, and we've tracked that the study appeared in over **2 million** social media feeds.
- » Thayer even appeared on the popular **Ruthless** podcase, reaching over 2 million unique listeners with an average of 100,000 downloads per week, the full episode has been watched 2.5k times on the podcast's YouTube channel, and clips on CRC's YouTube channel have been viewed another 2.6k times.
- » Our videos explaining the study's findings has already earned over 340,000 views on YouTube and Instagram.



This report on charitable dollars in elections caps off three years of work raising the visibility of charitable dollars that are going to partisan activities. Our conversation about politicized nonprofits now reaches a wide audience and multiple policymakers are now taking action on our research.





CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK

1513 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036
202.483.6900 | www.capitalresearch.org

CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER WELCOMES LETTERS TO THE EDITOR.

Please send them to Contact@CapitalResearch.org or 1513 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.

FOLLOW US ON OUR SOCIAL NETWORKS



facebook.com/capitalresearchcenter



[@capitalresearchcenter](https://www.instagram.com/capitalresearchcenter)



[@capitalresearch](https://www.gettr.com/@capitalresearch)



[@capitalresearch](https://twitter.com/capitalresearch)



[@capitalresearch](https://www.youtube.com/capitalresearch)



[Capital Research Center](https://www.youtube.com/capitalresearch)

By subscribing to our YouTube channel and by following, sharing, and liking our posts, tweets, and images, we can share our messages with others like you.



CAPITAL RESEARCH CENTER
AMERICA'S INVESTIGATIVE THINK TANK